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Berlin, Washington Talks on Lower 'Military Threat'
LD1104143289 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Two international events appear to be in the headlines this week. One is a meeting in Berlin where the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers Committee is getting underway on Tuesday, and the other is the arrival in Washington on Wednesday of NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner for discussion with the United States leadership of the alliance's military and political strategy. Commentary is by Yuriy Solton, who writes:

Both the Berlin meeting and the talks in Washington have the single aim of defining ways to lower the military threat in Europe and perforce worldwide. Away from concrete recommendations the two alliances may come up with, there's one thing clear. Unlike in the past, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO have built greater confidence between each other and outlined common targets in the area of military detente. Fundamentally both speak for rapid progress at the Vienna talks to cut conventional arms and forces in Europe and eliminate chemical weapons, and believe it important for the two superpowers to strike a deal on cutting their strategic arms by half.

Although all of this is only welcome, the two sides differ largely in their approach to the issue of security. Unlike the Soviet Union and its allies, who favor the renunciation of power politics that lead nowhere, NATO's leaders' official statements indicate their unwillingness to part with the old concept of the cold war times, saying that peace can be secured through strength. This is clearly shown by their desire to hold back to nuclear weapons as deterrents, although it is high time nuclear weapons proper should be deterred. Meanwhile Mr Woerner's talks in Washington are expected to focus on Europe's nuclear modernization plans.

In the Soviet view, outlined at length by President Gorbachev during his stay in Britain, a go-ahead to NATO's nuclear modernization might affect the course of the Vienna talks, confidence-building, and overall political environment in Europe, and devalue much of what had been achieved by the Soviet-American INF Treaty. Moscow is strongly opposed to any plans of nuclear modernization. Meanwhile it is not modernizing its own nuclear weapons and has no intention of doing so unless it's forced to do otherwise.

Warsaw Treaty countries believe European security could be brought about by slashing conventional forces to reasonable defense (?sufficiency) and a total removal of nuclear weapons from the continent.

U.S. Attitude on Uranium Initiative Viewed
PM1104100989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by M. Knyazkov: "How To Justify Failure To Understand?"]

[Text] There is no need to say that every Soviet peace proposal is an event which is discussed and commented on with animation in the world. That is also what is happening with the new initiative announced in London by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. I have in mind the USSR's unilateral decision to halt the production of highly enriched uranium for military purposes this year. In addition to the industrial reactor producing plutonium for defense needs which was closed down in 1987, the USSR is planning this year and next to close down a further two such reactors and not to commission new capacities to replace them.

Many political and public figures and the press are assessing this step positively as promoting the consolidation of universal security. But the reaction in the United States to this important new initiative makes us think. And think primarily about how seriously Washington is attached to the intention once declared by Ronald Reagan of ridding the world of nuclear weapons.

"I have not yet familiarized myself with an analysis of this report so I really cannot say what importance this step has as a whole," George Bush said at his latest press conference.

Well, perhaps the President really does need time to consider the importance of the Soviet step. But it turns out that the U.S. State Department has already had quite enough time not only to analyze it but also to express its skepticism. According to a statement from its spokesman, the measures announced by the Soviet Union "will not restrict its nuclear arms production program." The point of the propaganda campaign against the Soviet initiative launched with remarkable promptness across the ocean comes down to the allegation that even without these reactors the Soviet Union will meet its nuclear weapons requirements.

Of course, the Soviet Union has no intention of harming the interests of its own security. But the point is that such an oversimplified interpretation of the Soviet steps is hardly appropriate. It is like failing to see the forest for the trees. The main thing in the Soviet initiative is its political import. The USSR is taking specific and serious steps to limit the industrial base for swelling its own nuclear arsenal thereby demonstrating once again its adherence to the idea of creating a nuclear-free world, set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's well-known statement.

Nothing ever happens for no reason. And there must be an explanation for the United States' cool attitude toward the Soviet Union's decision, which formally would seem to require no steps in response from Washington.

It seems to me there can be only one explanation. The United States right now is elaborating a program for creating a new generation of nuclear reactors for military purposes. They will be installed at the relevant enterprises in Savannah River and Idaho Falls.

FRG's Genscher on Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks

PM1204092189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "H.-D. Genscher Statement"]

[Text] Bonn, 10 Apr—We attach great importance to M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming official visit to the FRG, FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher has stated in an interview with Deutschlandfunk Radio.

He expressed the hope that the Soviet-West German summit talks would serve to further develop East-West relations. It will be a dialogue between the leaders of two countries which went through the horrors of World War II and have been trying to contribute to overcoming the contradictions between East and West and to the cause of disarmament, the minister noted.

As a result of the profound and irreversible changes in Soviet foreign policy we have a historic chance to make important progress on disarmament, H.-D. Genscher stressed. We must do everything to ensure that this chance is not missed. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was just the first step. We are now holding talks on stability in the sphere of conventional arms for all Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. All these are very hopeful factors. And we must make every effort to move forward on arms control and disarmament toward the demilitarization of international relations. Cooperation and collaboration, the minister pointed out, should replace confrontation in East-West relations.

Touching on the issue of NATO's current elaboration of a unified concept for disarmament and arms control, H.-D. Genscher expressed the hope that the NATO countries would succeed in reaching a common position on the problem of short-range nuclear missiles. It is important, he stated, that this concept contain a proposal to start talks on tactical nuclear weapons in order to embark on disarmament in this sphere too.

Soviet Troops in GDR To Become More Defensive

AU0804155289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 8-9 Apr 89 p 4

["RTR" report: "USSR Troops Become More Defensive"]

[Text] Berlin—According to Soviet Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, it is planned that the Soviet units stationed in the GDR will become increasingly oriented toward defense. Akhromeyev wrote in the latest edition of the magazine FREIE ZEIT that "the structure of the general divisions" of the Soviet units in the GDR "is to be changed." The number of attack tanks will be reduced, while antitank capabilities will be increased. The GDR National People's Army is planning similar measures, Akhromeyev writes.

NATO 'Invasion Capability' Concept Criticized

PM1104090589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Apr 89 First Edition p 5

[Colonel A. Kasyuk article: "'Invasion Capability'—New Unit of Measurement?"]

[Text] The influence of the new political thinking on East-West relations is becoming a reality in our time. Confrontation is gradually giving way to cooperation. But there is no fundamental breakthrough in this process. The inertia of the old thinking is high among those who put their trust in the policy of strength. The military-propaganda apparatus continues to operate in the West in the spirit of the "cold war" era. One example of its output is the recently launched concept of "invasion capability."

This term emerged in NATO periodicals after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and is now being utilized increasingly in the military-political lexicon. What pushed bourgeois propaganda to arm itself with this? The fact is that the myth of the "Soviet military threat," which unfailingly served its inventors over many years, has recently been producing skepticism among the public in Western countries. Nonstandard arguments were needed for its benefit—fresh arguments, so to speak. It must be supposed that "invasion capability" is actually being examined in certain circles as this "fresh argument."

What is new about this propagandist offspring? The West German magazine SOLDAT UND TECHNIK believes "the picture of a potential invasion" by Eastern European armies is more suitable than unbiased figures to support the dying idea of the threat in the consciousness of citizens. FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz, who initiated the discussion around the new concept, determined this "picture's" basic outline. On the question of European security, he says it is important to talk about not only the potential enemy's numerical superiority, but also about the invasion capability of his forces. Yes, the

minister explains, the Soviet Union may reduce its armed forces while not impairing its ability to breach the borders of West European states in the most audacious manner.

Tanks remain the Warsaw Pact's number one weapon, the magazine LOYAL writes, trying to whip up panic. Mikhail Gorbachev's UN speech, this organ claims, is a tactical move. Another journal—KAMPFTRUPPEN—accuses the USSR not only of tactical stratagems. It attributes a clearly expressed aggressive character to the present Soviet military doctrine and it produces the following conclusion as confirmation: "Soviet military building is based on the conceptual formulations of the famous Nazi general Guderian." That is how far Western analysts are prepared to go!

As they say, the first step is the hardest. And other colors are added to the "picture." So, Admiral D. Wellershoff, general inspector of the Bundeswehr, reinforces the concept of "invasion capability" with another concept which aims to sound scientific—"geostrategic asymmetry." This is the essence of it: The Warsaw Pact, they say, relies on the important opportunity to launch a surprise attack without being subject to particular delays and thus enjoys the benefit of choice in time and place. NATO on the other hand, is tied hand and foot by the need to debate and consult and thus requires a significant period of time to adopt a decision to mobilize.

According to Wellershoff, it transpires that NATO does not have "mobile forces" created on the fire brigade principle, but rapid deployment forces which are in a state of constant combat readiness have been set up instead in a number of NATO countries. It is precisely in the FRG that first-line reservists keep their military uniforms and all the necessary equipment at home and observe the principle of registering with the military unit "nearest to home" so that, at the first signal, they have only to grab their weapons and can immediately set about fulfilling their assigned combat task. Judging from reports in the West European press, as a result of mobilization Bundeswehr numbers are supposed to increase to 1.3 million men in the first 72 hours.

Wellershoff proposes taking "the invasion capability of troops" as the basic assessment indicator at the arms reduction talks. And following his chief's directives, in his SOLDAT UND TECHNIK article "On the Warsaw Pact Ground Forces Invasion Capability" Lieutenant Colonel G. Menkel [name as transliterated] tries to show the Warsaw Pact's alleged advantages clearly and thoroughly—on seven pages, utilizing plans and diagrams, and listing various kinds of factors. These are the element of strategic surprise and a favorable deployment of forces, a particular kind of camouflage, mobility, the ability to conduct combat operations behind enemy lines, and a great deal besides.

In fact, the forces of the Warsaw Pact countries do possess all these qualities. But the conclusion is drawn here that the Soviet forces are getting ready not to repulse aggression, but to invade. Everything is ready, they say. When the signal is given—the move on the West will begin. G. Menkel pretends that he knows nothing about the defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine, that specific steps have already been taken by the Warsaw Pact countries on the structural transformations of its armed forces on the basis of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. At the same time the theory of "deep strikes" formulated by U.S. specialists and taken up by the armies of the North Atlantic alliance countries really does exist in NATO. These "strikes" are systematically elaborated in maneuvers by NATO forces. An obvious example of this are the recent WINTEX-SIMEX-89 exercises in which, among other things, the problem of effectively engaging the Warsaw Pact forces to the full depth of their formation was studied.

In general, there is no need to guess the purpose of the appearance of the "invasion capability" concept. On the one hand there is the obvious desire to cast doubt on the defensive nature of the tasks facing the Warsaw Pact. And on the other is the effort to justify NATO's "modernization" plans and the creation of the "smart" conventional weapons which are close to nuclear weapons in terms of effectiveness, and to confirm the legitimacy of the "nuclear deterrence" concept. The same Admiral Wellershoff argues thus: Even in the event that numerical parity is achieved between the armed forces, the imbalance in the Warsaw Pact's favor stemming from the "geostrategic factor" can be counterbalanced only by means of nuclear weapons.

Inasmuch as the "invasion capability" unit of measurement does not exist today, the potential to increase arms is virtually unlimited. So that's how things have turned out.

Effective Limits on Biological Weapons Sought

PM1204093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lopukhin article under the rubric "International Notes": "Weapons Rejected, But..."]

[Text] Since the world wars, which cost tens of millions of lives, mass killing and the weapons involved have been recognized by virtually everyone as immoral. But there are types of weapons which are considered most inhuman of all and absolutely unacceptable...even for killing—pathogens, viruses, and toxins. Mankind has too vivid a memory of the times when plague, smallpox, typhus, and cholera struck down horrified people without regard to national frontiers and threatened to bring about the "end of the world." More people have been killed by infections in the history of civilization than by the numerous wars, famines, floods, and earthquakes.

This tragic experience clearly led to the first international disarmament agreement, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. It was opened for signing 10 April 1972 and came into force 26 March 1975. It now has more than 110 signatory states.

Despite this obvious success, there has of late been a negative consequence of this, in my view. People have started talking and writing less about biological weapons than the problems—both old and new—linked to their demand. And it is glaringly obvious that there are far fewer articles on this subject in our country than in the West, for instance.

The primary question is the monitoring and observance of the convention, which, unfortunately, does not stipulate the setting up of a permanent international organization for that purpose. Indeed, how can the existence of biological weapons be controlled if a couple of vials of bacteria are as lethal as 5 tonnes of nerve gas or 100 tonnes of potassium cyanide? Biological weapons require no huge stores which could be detected by satellite.

The situation, however, is not as gloomy as pessimists might think. Apart from reliance on human reason, there are other quite reliable barriers. Above all, we need more openness and trust between states in order to make up for the difficulty of monitoring fulfillment of the convention. This is the route taken by the convention participants. In 1987 they started exchanging information on research centers and laboratories where work is carried out with dangerous substances, and on information pertaining to biological research. But this practice still does not rule out obscure points. Mutual, although uncorroborated, suspicions often surface. Clearly, the accords reached on information exchange should be reinforced by a corresponding protocol and thought given to introducing effective monitoring and verification methods.

This need has been prompted, in particular, by the fact that certain countries are conducting work not prohibited by the convention in the sphere of protection against biological weapons. For instance, the United States has stepped up appropriations for such research fivefold—from $63 million in 1980 to $334 million in 1987. In the opinion of a number of U.S. scientists it is very hard to draw the line between defensive and offensive biological research, which is liable to crank up the arms race, since countless numbers of deadly viruses could be developed [sozdat]. Moreover, the success of genetic engineering in recent years has opened up loopholes that make it possible to sidestep the convention.

As for our country, we like everybody else must be more flexible in our approach to questions of secrecy in this sphere. For instance, this January THE WASHINGTON POST stated its suspicions that the USSR is developing [razrabatyvat] biological weapons and named a number of installations where this is allegedly happening. This is partly explained by the fact that some of our departments do not always report essential explanatory points or exhaustive information, or do so far too slowly. When these suspicions arise, they must be immediately removed. The microbiological enterprises listed by THE WASHINGTON POST in Berdsk, Kurgan, Omutninsk, Penza, and Pokrov are purely civilian. They have already been discussed by the central and local Soviet press, and if these articles have not been noticed in the United States we can report that these enterprises produce medicines, plant protection agents, and other civilian output totally unrelated to biological weapons.

It must be admitted that there have been occasions in this country when the leaders of the—purely civilian—installations named by the United States have failed to provide the necessary information by no means because they wanted to prevent leaks of secrets abroad. In actual fact they were scared that their enterprises would attract "too much attention" from the Soviet public. However, it is well-known that in the modern world no departmental barriers can close off channels of information. These fears were linked, it seems to me, with a lack of experience of working under the conditions of glasnost, and have their roots in the past, when environmental protection issues were not subject to such close attention in our society. This is just one example when what seem to be purely domestic problems come onto the international stage.

Further Reportage on Nuclear Submarine Sinking

Defense Ministry Statement

18010623 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed statement entitled: "From the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy report that on 7 April a fire broke out on a nuclear-powered torpedo submarine, located in neutral waters in the Norwegian Sea. The submarine was raised to the surface. The crew conducted a courageous battle for the survival of the ship for more than 5 hours. However, the measures taken by the crew did not succeed. The submarine sank in an area to the southwest of Bear Island at a depth of 1,500 meters. There were human losses.

With a feeling of sorrow the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy express deep condolences to the family and friends of the deceased. The bright memory of these true sons of the Fatherland will be preserved forever in the hearts of the soldiers of the Army and Navy and of all Soviet people.

More Details Revealed

PM1204090989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by own correspondent Captain Third Rank P. Ishchenko: "The Crew Struggled Until the Last Moment To Save the Submarine"]

[Text] As already reported, on 7 April 1989 a Soviet submarine sank in the Norwegian Sea, in the vicinity of Bear Island. According to information from the Northern Fleet Headquarters, there were 69 crew members on board the torpedo-carrying nuclear-powered submarine on which the accident occurred. Twenty-seven of them were saved. The crew displayed courage during the struggle to save the submarine.

There were two nuclear-tipped torpedoes among the submarine's torpedo armaments. The design of these warheads completely rules out the possibility of nuclear danger when diving to great depths.

In order to guarantee radiation safety the nuclear power plant was shut down. The reactor was safely sealed off [zaglushen]. The destruction of the reactor's casing was prevented. The radiation situation in the area is being monitored by vessels taking part in the rescue operation, using a variety of facilities. As a result of an examination of the air and sea in the vicinity of the accident, it has been established that there is no radioactive pollution. The radiation level does not exceed the natural background radiation.

The government commission's work continues.

On the morning of 8 April Rear Admiral V. Paramonov, first deputy chief of staff of the Northern Fleet, told me:

"The rescue work started immediately after a report was received about a fire which started on board the submarine. When the alarm was raised aircraft flew out, and the fastest vessels were sent to the region of the accident, including the "Kirov" nuclear missile cruiser, which had taken on board a large group of medical workers from the fleet's main hospital."

While the ships were hurrying to the submariners who were in distress, the fleet's airmen were already rendering them assistance.

"Long before the submarine sank, several aircraft from the aviation regiment under the command of Colonel N. Novikov were helping it to make radio contact with the shore, were relaying commands to it, and were directing Soviet ships and vessels which were nearest the damaged boat," Major General of Aviation V. Pupynin, member of the military council, chief of the Northern Fleet Aviation Political Department, said. "And when the evacuation of personnel from the nuclear-powered vessel commenced, aircraft dropped rescue capsules containing inflatable boats to the men who were in the water. I advise you to talk with Major Petrogradskikh, the commander of the aircraft."

I did not have to search long for Major G. Petrogradskikh. He was, as the day before, on duty at the aerodrome. A very experienced pilot, this is his 9th year as commander. He recalled the details of that day.

The alarm was raised concerning the crew immediately after the report came from the submarine about a fire on board. Technicians quickly removed weapons from the aircraft, and suspended rescue capsules from them—for it was precisely that type of work which lay ahead. They took off, having taken ½ hour less than the established norm.

The aircraft encountered thick clouds on the approach to the area where the damaged submarine was located. Having made out a gap in the clouds, Major Petrogradskikh banked and the aircraft came out directly over the submarine. The submariners radioed that there was a fire in the seventh and sixth sections, and that they were struggling to save the ship.

The pilots quickly established contact with the nearest Soviet ships—they were the hydrographic vessel "Kolguyev" and the "Aleksey Khlobystov" floating base. Periodically flying over them, the pilots corrected the course of those ships, and reported their distance from the submarine.

Soon visibility deteriorated, there were flurries of snow, and the mist over the water thickened. The waves were between 0.75 m and 1.00 m high. But the pilots continued to maintain stable, including visual, communications, with the submarine, where the struggle for the ship's survival did not stop for an instant.

But, as is known, the measures taken by the submariners failed to yield results. When he received the report that the evacuation of the submarine's personnel had begun, Major Petrogradskikh dropped the rescue capsules near the submarine. After a short time, the submarine sank.

"We noticed that many submariners managed to get onto the life rafts, but some people nonetheless remained in the water," once again Major Petrogradskikh pictured the situation. "Being so near—we dropped to as low as 30 m—and not being able to help.... I shall never forget that."

One more aircraft dropped several rescue capsules. Now the only thing that the pilots could do was to hurry the surface ships along. But the latter were already pushing their engines to the limit. As people said afterwards, the "Aleksey Khlobystov" floating base even managed to exceed by 2 knots the speed permitted by the technical condition of its engines. It was the first to reach the scene of the accident. Launches, lowered from the floating base, started to take the exhausted submariners from the life rafts. Then all those who had been rescued were taken on board the "Kirov" nuclear missile cruiser which had arrived, and which headed for Severomorsk at full speed.

But most regrettably, it proved impossible to save everyone. The freezing Norwegian Sea, where the water temperature at this time of the year does not exceed five degrees above freezing, made its own harsh corrections to the number of people saved from the submarine which sank. Captain First Rank Ye. Vanin, commander of the submarine, who continued to direct the struggle to save the ship until the last minute, died. Officer T. Burkulakov, who was a good friend of mine in active service, also died.

Even on the evening of 8 April we had not abandoned hope of finding those who were missing. At about 2000 hours Col N. Novikov and I came to the aerodrome where the last aircraft that day, which had returned from the search area, had just landed. Lieutenant Colonel I. Masliy, who was squadron commander, was in control of the search. We approached him when he had hardly set foot on the ground and he shook his head in distress:

"We spent 8 hours in the air, but found no one...."

Meanwhile Severomorsk was preparing for the arrival of the cruiser "Kirov" which was supposed to dock on the morning of 9 April. On the night of the 8th and early hours of the 9th the final preparations to receive the people rescued were underway in the fleet's main naval hospital, whose chief was Colonel of the Medical Services N. Serikov. I happened to witness how Major General of Medical Services V. Zheglov, chief of Naval Medical Services, and Major General of Medical Services V. Ivashkin, chief therapeutist of the USSR Armed Forces, meticulously and fastidiously checked the readiness of the hospital for work, having by late evening examined virtually everything, from the reception department to the intensive care wards.

"I believe that the hospital is thoroughly prepared," Major General of Medical Services Zheglov said to me after going round the medical facilities. "It is fully supplied with the necessary medicines, equipment, and apparatus. The hospital's skilled doctors, helped by specialists from the Military-Medical Academy, are capable of handling the responsibilities placed on them."

On the morning of 9 April I was able, while literally on the move, to snatch a conversation with several of the submariners who were taken to Severomorsk. Officer B. Kolyada: "Most of us feel fine. We are very grateful to the crew of the 'Aleksey Khlobystov' and to all those who took part in our rescue." Warrant Officer V. Kadantsev: "Until the last moment I was holding the fort in the fifth compartment. Until the very end I did not believe that the boat would sink. Fortunately no one was dragged down with the boat when it did go down." Warrant Officer A. Kozhanov: "The icy water poured over the raft up to our chests."

Toward the end of 9 April, as reported by the chief of the Navy's medical services, whom we telephoned, the health of the submariners who were saved gave the doctors no cause for concern. Relatives and friends of the crew members of the sunken submarine came to Severomorsk.

...Coincidentally, the "Kirov" nuclear missile cruiser berthed at Severomorsk precisely at the time when the naval flag was being hoisted on the ships on Sunday. And while the half-mast flag drooped sadly on the "Kirov's" stern flagstaff—this is the naval tradition—the flags were hoisted simultaneously on all the remaining ships at their moorings. It was as if the ships, the whole Northern Fleet, were silently saluting the submariners who had died.

Survivors Interviewed

LD1104202689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our special correspondent reports from Severomorsk:

[V. Anuchin, identified by screen caption] The air temperature on that day [8 April] was 2 degrees [centigrade]. The water temperature was 3-4 degrees. The victims were transferred to the "Kiev" cruiser, which delivered

them quickly to Severomorsk, to the military hospital. Specialists of the fleet's medical service, leaders in their field, were brought to treat the crew. Today I managed to meet the survivors. Twenty-seven of the 69-member crew of the nuclear submarine survived. [video shows port briefly, Northern Fleet Political Directorate Chief Vargin with survivors, Anuchin interviewing survivors]

[Unidentified man] Everything took place very quickly, but we did everything we could. People behaved courageously and did not panic. They believed in victory, but to be in the cold water for so long, you yourself understand.

[Anuchin] How long were you in it?

[Man] About 1 and ½ hours. [words indistinct] I would like, well, how can I say it—for my friends, when they see me, to know that I am alive and well, absolutely perfectly healthy, and for them not to worry.

[Second unidentified man] We did everything possible to save the ship; the crew abandoned the ship at the very last moment. Thank you to the seamen, fishermen, the whole crew of the "Aleksey Khlobystov" which gave us help, that is, first aid. They dressed us, brought us around and did everything possible to keep alive the survivors who were taken out of the water.

[Third unidentified young man] First of all I want to single out the fact that the crew at that moment....[changes thought] It immediately led to cohesion among the crew. No one left others in trouble. As far as we were able, we tried to support each other. There was absolutely no kind of panic. To the end we believed that we would get help. The planes flying over us gave us to understand that help was on the way, that help was near. Those people who were on the raft and in the water, to the end, they retained consciousness....

[Anuchin, interrupting] Helped each other?

[Third man] Helped each other, supported each other, as they were able. I remember that at the most critical moment all of our comrades sang a song, sang the "Varangian." This helped us very, very much. We sang the song. When we saw the ships coming to help us, this of course gave us a great deal of strength and we were already trying hard. We strained all of our physical strength, and we awaited help.

[Anuchin] The conditions were indeed extreme, I mean....

[Third man, interrupting] Yes, the conditions were extreme, but to be honest, the Norwegian Sea, well nobody was thinking of just saving themselves. They were thinking about all of their comrades. That is first and foremost. [video shows survivors reunited with relatives]

[Anuchin] Today the submariners met their nearest and dearest and met with the crew of their lost nuclear submarine. According to the conclusion of members of the government commission the crew of the submarine acted in the accident situation courageously and correctly. The sailors fought for the ship's viabilty to the last moment.

[Video shows Anuchin speaking with Northern Fleet Political Directorate Chief Vargin, identified by screen caption] [Anuchin] The vessel had a nuclear power installation and there were two torpedoes with nuclear warheads there. This is now at a great depth, at a depth of 1,500, 1,200, 1,000, 1,500 meters. If we talk about radiation safety, about radiation, whether it is possible or not possible, this is worrying everybody.

[Vargin] It is our deep conviction that the radiation situation in the area of the sinking of the vessel is normal. The reactor has been fully smothered and the person who smothered it, he is alive today, and is in the hospital. It is to him that the commission listened today. Thus, to start with, the protection system did its work, automatically, and he brought the reactor into the necessary smothered state.

[Anuchin] What about the torpedoes?

[Vargin] The torpedoes do not present a threat. They are not prepared for combat use. They were in storage. They are not in what is termed an armed condition and therefore according to the conclusions of specialists they do not present any kind of danger.

[Anuchin] [words indistinct]

[Vargin] We feel the vessel has not been crushed.

[Anuchin] Yes, yes, it is possible.

[Vargin] And it is filled with water. We believe we must raise it. The specialists will be involved with this, but we consider it necessary to raise it, so as to completely explain the reason for this accident. Our ships, combat ships, are there following the situation, including the radiation situation. That is, they are surveying the ecological situation, the ecology, which today worries the entire world. This is also...[changes thought] both the Norwegians are worried and we are worried about this. Reports are coming in on the situation, and the situation is normal [words indistinct] [video shows port]

'Secrecy' Criticized

PM1204075589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 p 4

[Feature comprising reports by V. Yunisov, Yu. Sagaydak, A. Baranov, and K. Semenov respectively: "Tragedy in the High Latitudes: Our Special Correspondents Report the Details of the Destruction of the Soviet Submarine"]

[Text]

Severomorsk

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA photojournalist Sergey Kuznetsov and I received our assignment to go to Severomorsk late Saturday evening, when the whole world had learned of the tragedy that had occurred in the high latitudes. We had to meet Sunday morning with the nuclear-powered cruiser "Kirov," which was carrying the bodies of the dead seamen and the survivors of the sunken submarine, talk with people, and clarify the circumstances of the catastrophe that had occurred 180 km southwest of Norway's Bear Island.

We arrived on time, being the first journalists on the scene.

...The cruiser "Kirov" was lying in the roads, awaiting the order to dock. The gray, dank morning was in keeping with the situation.

"How many have survived?" was the anguished question.

We were not admitted to Northern Fleet Headquarters. In such a situation it was, of course, nothing to do with journalists. The special government commission was already at work and numerous commissions of doctors and submarine specialists had already arrived.

Strict military procedure rules out emotion. And here, no matter whom you complained to or accused of incomprehension and heartlessness, the order remained in force. And that order was that journalists were not to be admitted into the port area. Neither into the headquarters, nor on to the mooring where the cruiser "Kirov" was to tie up. When we finally learned about this, a whole hour had passed. The cruiser had started toward the shore.

But why could we not meet with the sailors. What was the secret? Why? Yes, it is a giant supercruiser with sophisticated weapons on board. But it was the men, not the cruiser, that interested us. Unable to restrain ourselves, we rushed toward the shore, but were stopped at a checkpoint: "Orders are not to admit civilians." The cruiser meanwhile had dropped anchor and lowered its flag in accordance with the old maritime tradition. A rocket flew up into the sky, leaving a black trail in its wake.

We headed for the mooring by an illegal route, but were detained by a patrol 10 minutes later and ejected from the port area.

We had nevertheless certainly attracted the attention of the leadership of Northern Fleet Headquarters by doing this. They obligingly put us on a warship and fed and quartered us.

From the bridge we observed through powerful binoculars what was happening on the cruiser and we choked with emotion. The bodies of the dead submariners, wrapped in white shrouds, were being unloaded. Sergey was unable to take a single shot. The wounded were then taken off the cruiser and dispatched to the hospital. The city, which had not been apprised that the submarine crew was being brought ashore, did not turn out to meet the sailors.

The hospital where the survivors were taken would not admit us. They were following orders. At a meeting with journalists one member of the government commission put this down to the fact that the sailors were in a state of shock and could not speak. Why in that case we were not allowed to meet the doctors is also a mystery.

That evening I managed to meet with the wives of officers who had survived. They had gone through days of drama, since the first information thay had received was based on...rumor. The wife of one officer learned about the destruction of the submarine from an acquaintance who lives in Murmansk. The latter rang her long-distance and told her that her husband was apparently on the vessel. What a thing to go through! Although it is no secret that the list of the dead and survivors was already known to the Northern Fleet Headquarters on 7 April, having been radio'd ashore.

What then was the government commission able to clarify for us journalists after its first day's work? Not a lot. The submarine had a complement of 69, of whom 27 had been rescued. The submarine crew had shown courage in their fight to save the ship. Our airmen and sailors on the tender "Aleksey Khlobystov" and the destroyer "Karabakh" had distinguished themselves in the rescue operation. It was also officially reported that the vessel was carrying 10 torpedoes, two of which had nuclear charges. And that the design of the charges completely rules out any nuclear danger on submersion to a great depth. The same applied to the nuclear-powered motor. Radiation safety was assured, the reactor had been shut down, the destruction of the reactor vessel was ruled out. According to preliminary data, the fire on the submarine was caused by a short circuit. The place where the submarine went down was already known.

At the present moment the radiation situation in the area of the submarine wreck is being monitored not only by Soviet but by Norwegian ships. Samples of the water and air in the accident area show that there is no radioactive contamination and that the radiation background is not in excess of the naturally occurring value.

That seems to be all that is known to date about the destruction of the submarine. I know only from the wives of the officers and the relatives of crew members that the sailors did all they could to save their ship, singing the "Varyag" ["Viking"] as they perished in the icy water.

In conclusion, the opinion of someone who is not an official—pensioner V.A. Krivopusk:

"If we had known that the 'Kirov' was arriving in Severomorsk on Sunday morning, half the city would have been on the quay to meet the crew. But here, for some reason, there is complete secrecy. They were brought here in secret and then taken in secret to the hospital. From whom are we hiding? Why?"

The government commission is continuing its work.

London

The destruction of the Soviet submarine in the neutral waters of the Norwegian Sea provided the occasion for sensational articles in the British mass media. But only for a day. The wave of fear was quickly alleviated as soon as the TASS report containing details of the tragedy, explanations regarding the design of the nuclear charges on the torpedoes, which excludes the danger of explosions on submersion to great depth, and also clear assurances that the crew had reliably shut down the reactor was received here. Conjecture, quite a deal of which was splashed on the pages of the press, was replaced by commentaries written by specialists. Inflections of condolences regarding the death of the Soviet sailors became clearly discernible in the tenor of the articles. On the whole, the results of the investigations carried out by scientists of the Norwegian Institute of Radiation Hygiene ended the legitimate disquiet felt by the British. They had examined samples of water and air taken from the area of the Soviet submarine's destruction. The conclusion was unambiguous. There is no radioactive contamination and the radiation background does not exceed the norm.

Local specialists think that such a result from the investigation was predetermined to some extent by the design characteristics of the sunken submarine, which has a titanium hull. This guarantees enhanced hull strength. Experts here concur that the reactor with which the sunken submarine is fitted is "well protected and uses a smaller quantity of radioactive material than previous models."

The British press has drawn attention to the promptness with which the Soviet leadership sent telegrams to the heads of many states containing details of the incident. Such glasnost marks an enormous step forward in international affairs and is a practical expression of the new political thinking, in the opinion of the press.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has sent a condolences telegram to the families of the dead Soviet sailors.

Copenhagen

The tragedy of the Soviet submarine crew is captured in a fuzzy, indistinct photograph taken from a Norwegian Orion reconnaissance aircraft and published in virtually all the Scandinavian papers on Sunday. A living bundle of men in life jackets, clinging to a small life raft amid raging waves. These are the ones who managed to wrest themselves from the cold embraces of the deep....

The mass media's first responses were pretty fraught and anxious and focused basically on one problem: Had the catastrophe contaminated the waters of the Norwegian Sea? However, once M.S. Gorbachev's personal message to Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, in which he reported that the nuclear reactor had been reliably shut down and that a radiation leak was ruled out, became known, fears were dissipated to some extent.

It is significant that the press here has made extensive use of TASS reports on the accident, noting that the Soviet Union is not concealing details of what occurred.

Nevertheless, we have been reproached. For example, regret is expressed that the USSR did not report the catastrophe first but gave information only after being approached by the Norwegian authorities. It is true, however, that a representative of the Norwegian Defense Ministry has stated that the USSR was not obliged to report every detail of the accident, since it occurred in international waters.

It is also being said that, had the Soviet sailors requested help from the Norwegians, it could have arrived much earlier, since the Soviet ships took about 8 hours to get to the disaster scene.

On the whole, however, it is noted that the accident showed the urgent need to extend confidence-building measures between NATO and the Warsaw Pact to the maritime sphere. This particularly applies to the North Atlantic, which is crammed with modern naval weaponry.

Extract From the History of Catastrophes

Exactly 26 years ago, in April 1963, America was shocked by the news of the destruction of its largest atomic submarine, "Thresher."

It happened during trials. The ship was to confirm its readiness to carry out its assigned tasks over 2 days. The first day of trials went successfully. The second day, 1 hour 12 minutes after submerging, reports of malfunctions on the "Thresher" reached the rescue vessel "Skylark" stationed above. And literally a few minutes later the pride of the U.S submarine fleet ceased to exist.

It is still not known what happened to the "Thresher," why the ship, together with its crew of 129, perished. The U.S Navy command announced the disaster only after it was reported on Canadian television. For some hours America still lived in the hope that the worst might be averted. But that evening Admiral Anderson, chief of maritime operations at the Defense Department, appeared on television. "For us sailors and ship builders," he said, "there is no greater sorrow than to learn of the destruction of a ship...." No hope remained. Subsequent rescue operations failed to rescue any member of the crew.

Details of the catastrophe can be found in the book "The Mystery of the Destruction of 'Thresher'" ["Tayna Gibeli 'Treshera'"] (Leningrad, 1964) by A. Narusayev and G. Lisov, from which the accompanying photograph [of a submarine on the surface] was taken.

Gerasimov Briefs Media on Afghan Situation
LD1104194289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] A news briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held today at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke at the briefing. On the Afghan situation he said, in part:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Following the opposition's unsuccessful offensive against Jalalabad, its forces are regrouping for new active operations. Attempts to go over to the offensive in individual sectors of the front near Jalalabad have been halted by the actions of the Afghan Air Force and by missile and artillery bombardment. On 10 April, 18,000 shells and missiles were fired on Jalalabad. There was loss of life. A mosque, 40 shops [dukanov], and residential blocks were destroyed. Afghan Air Force strikes and artillery fire in the probable directions of the enemy's offensive actions continue to restrain enemy activities. The republic's armed forces have liberated all security posts on the Sarowbi-Jalalabad road. Military operations are continuing.

In the vicinity of Khowst, the enemy managed to capture four guards posts, but the enemy advance was halted by artillery fire and Air Force strikes.

Combat operations to smash the large enemy grouping on the southern flank are continuing. Government troops have carried out an operation to clear the rebels out of the Qandahar area. Opposition groups are concentrating around Kabul. New detachments of the armed opposition have arrived there. Some are armed with Stinger missiles; this constitutes a threat to the working of Kabul's international airport. An air route is in operation; specifically, with the Soviet Union. On 10 April, 120 tonnes of flour were supplied to Kabul via this route, and 60 tonnes on the 11th.

The visit to Afghanistan by the delegation of representatives of the Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics, who are discussing economic cooperation and the expansion of direct links, is continuing. [end recording]

Correction to Japanese Nuclear Accident Report
LD1104173989

The following correction pertains to the item subheadlined "Cites Japanese Nuclear Accident," published in the 11 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 5:

page five, column two, last paragraph, last sentence should read: "...relations with Namibia as soon as this country gains independence and fair elections are held there." (supplying dropped passage).

United States & Canada

No Major Changes Expected in U.S. Soviet Policy

PM1104110789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Washington in No Hurry"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Apr—B. Scowcroft, assistant to the president for national security affairs, has announced that the Bush administration is continuing its analysis of U.S. foreign policy. But in an interview for the NBC Television Company he did confirm that President G. Bush received three reports last week containing recommendations on a number of aspects of U.S. foreign policy. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the documents "did not propose any new initiatives on relations with Europe or the Soviet Union."

"We have not made any final decisions," Scowcroft stressed. At the same time, he let it be known that there is no intention of making any substantial changes in U.S. policy toward the USSR. "A major power like the United States," the presidential adviser declared, "should not make any sharp changes of policy." At the moment we must be very prudent and cautious and not abandon strength and resolve until we are absolutely sure what lies in store for us, he said.

U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker confirmed in an interview for the ABC Television Company that the administration has not yet completed its foreign policy analysis. Referring to recent pronouncements by President Bush, he repeated that caution and a realistic approach are needed in relations with the USSR.

New York, 10 Apr—Most Americans are on the whole positive in their assessment of the initial months of G. Bush's activities as U.S. President. According to a public opinion poll conducted by TIME magazine in conjunction with the CNN television company, 54 percent of U.S. citizens express approval.

At the same time, many of those polled noted that the new administration is not as active as it should be. Only 17 percent said they were happy with the pace at which Bush is operating, compared to 68 percent who were not satisfied with Bush's pace.

TIME points out that the President's popularity has fallen somewhat since February, when a similar poll was conducted. Then Bush had the support of 59 percent of Americans.

U.S. Expected To Urge Nuclear Modernization

LD1104124889 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Pavel Kuznetsov commentary]

[Text] In a speech at London's Guildhall, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev capped his visit to Great Britain on Friday by announcing the Soviet Union was halting production of weapons-grade uranium and would close two reactors that produced plutonium for nuclear arms by the end of 1991. More on the visit from our observer Pavel Kuznetsov:

Every time Mikhail Gorbachev travels abroad he is expected to say something so big that the world will hold its breath. At the United Nations last December he announced deep unilateral cuts in conventional forces and outlined his vision of a better world. The speech has led to a far more encouraging start of the Vienna talks than most experts could think of.

This time, however, there is some grumbling in the West that he broke little new ground and that his speech in the glittering Guildhall fell short of expectations that he would sketch a broader vision of the future of Europe and perhaps even the world. But since when have world politics become a one-man show? In Washington the Bush administration continues to work quietly on its new approach to East-West relations, and the Soviet Union in particular. It will take at least another 2 months before we hear about it. So far all we have are press reports that the President's advisers have recommended him to steer a middle course between the skeptical approach toward Moscow and bold foreign policy initiatives of his own. There are no details yet of what is inside a 30-page report submitted to George Bush and titled "Status Quo Plus" by his experts, but the name suggests a good deal of caution.

President Bush is reported to have told his advisers to review the issue again. The ASSOCIATED PRESS said the President asked them to take another look another time at the whole situation. In Western Europe there is a good deal of applause, generous praise of perestroyka, and soaring expectations that the Soviet leadership will continue to pull rabbits out of its hat. In the meantime, we have to get patient and wait till May when a NATO summit is going to make up its mind on how to respond to the widely acclaimed initiatives. Chances are they will respond by accepting the nuclear modernization plan advocated by the United States and Great Britain. If that's a sign of political ingenuity in this changing world of ours, what is the old way of doing things, then? If I were to sum up the message sent from Moscow to other parts of the world, it is—sharing, sharing problems, values, and concerns. And this can be done only if there is an equal amount of desire on the other hand to do the same.

U.S. Debate on Disarmament, USSR Ties Viewed
LD1204094189 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Nikolay Turkatenko commentary]

[Text] Washington April 12 TASS —By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

An animated discussion concerning the development of a national strategy for the 1990s in the light of positive changes, brought about in the international arena by the Soviet Union's actions and proposals which are aimed at strengthening international security, has begun in the United States.

A number of influential participants in the discussion urge the George Bush administration immediately to take positive steps in response.

A speech made in the Senate Armed Services Committee by General Andrew J. Goodpaster, former NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, has aroused a broad response here.

Having recalled the Soviet Union's decision unilaterally to reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men, he substantiated the need for a radical cut in the Armed Forces and armaments of NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states and for the establishment of weapon-free zones in Central Europe.

The general also called for a 50-percent cut of the U.S. Armed Forces stationed in Western Europe.

A lively interest has also been generated by a speech made in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by George Kennan, a prominent political figure, who at one time held high positions in the Department of State.

He emphasised the vital interest of not only the Soviet Union but the United States as well in further lowering the level of confrontation and in reversing the arms race along lines which have been opened up by the INF Treaty.

For his part, former CIA Director Admiral Stansfield Turner urged the administration, in a contributin to THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper, to give up costly programmes for the development of new nuclear weapons and modernisation of the already existing ones.

He stressed that, as has been shown by the period of intensive and productive talks between the USSR and U.S.A. in recent years, neither side intends to launch a nuclear war which cannot be won.

Do such calls have any effect on those who decide on a U.S. strategy in the field of military and foreign polices? As far as the administration's view on this score is concerned, it will become clarified after the administration reviews all the relevant problems. The review should be completed after the May session of the NATO Council at summit level.

As for Congress, which decides on policy funding matters, it is preoccupied first of all with the need to reduce the federal budget deficit which has been brought about primarily by outsize military spending.

The well-informed DEFENSE NEWS WEEKLY reports that the leaders of the appropriations committees of the two houses of Congress insist on slashing U.S. military expenditures by 5-10 billion dollars in the 1990 fiscal year as compared with the previous one.

End to Superpower 'Rivalry' in Third World Urged
PM1104115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vladimir Chernyshev "View From Moscow": "Alarm Bell"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Addressing the ceremonial session of the Cuban National Assembly, M.S. Gorbachev called the settlement of regional conflicts the most urgent task of the present time. Such conflicts, he noted, most often occur as a result of outside interference and a desire to prevent the peoples from making their own choices independently. They maintain that such actions are in the interests of security and they cite political and ideological values and principles formulated as doctrines. "...We are resolutely opposed to all theories and doctrines," the head of the Soviet state said, "that try to justify the export of revolution or counterrevolution and all forms of foreign interference in sovereign states' affairs. Only on that basis can existing regional conflicts be settled and future outbreaks ruled out."

If we carry out an impartial and honest analysis of the causes of armed conflicts in various parts of the world, we must admit that many of them are triggered by rivalry between the superpowers, which have often seen the "Third World" as a zone of confrontation between the two systems, as an area in which one can gain an advantage in Soviet-American confrontation. At times the assessment of such conflicts has been primitive and simplistic: The worse it is for the rival, embroiled in a crisis situation, the better it is for us. Sometimes we have thought that way and the United States has looked at events from that standpoint. When the situation in the world's hot spots is approached in that way, it is no use thinking about the sides' making sincere efforts to settle conflicts. And the involvement of a great power in any, even initially trivial armed "clarification of relations" ["vyyasneneiye otnosheniy"] has immediately internationalized the conflict, created a new front of rivalry, and exacerbated the international situation as a whole.

The fact that opportunities have now arisen for defusing dangerous situations is evidence that new political thinking is gaining an ever-stronger foothold in international relations. There is a growing awareness that any regional conflict, particularly if it is being intensified, can lead to grim consequences worldwide. "Tug-of-war" contests and strong-arm politics have been completely discredited. [passage omitted]

Petrovskiy Disscusses Mideast With U.S. Charge

LD1104161689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Apr (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today received J. Joyce, the U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR, at the latter's request.

In the course of the conversation questions of assisting the search for ways of settling the conflict in the Middle East and other problems of mutual interest were touched upon.

U.S. Backs Shamir Plan on Palestinian Elections

LD1104180289 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

No sooner had Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir left the U.S. than Washington started pressure on its allies in NATO to get support for Tel Aviv's intentions to hold "elections" in the Palestinian territories it occupies. A White House spokesman announced that the Bush administration sends its special emissary to the Middle East in May to try to persuade Arab leaders to give consent to these "elections", that is, to accept the U.S.-backed point in Yitzhak Shamir's "peace plan".

The Israeli prime minister presented this plan to the U.S. President on April 6 of this year during the negotiations in Washington on questions of Middle East settlement. It is characteristic that the "elections" are proposed to be held in conditions of the persisting Israeli military occupation which cannot make the elections either free or democratic. But then they in Tel Aviv do not hide the fact that their aim is not Palestinians' self-determination but only determining the form of their self-government in the framework of "greater Israel".

A sharply negative reaction to this plan came immediately from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It holds that elections are out of the question for the reason that the Palestinian Arab people has already made its choice. It fully supports the programme of the PLO actions to [words indistinct] Israeli occupiers from Arab lands and to create an independent Palestinian state.

The United States apparently intends to impose on the Palestinians what they do not want. And Washington obviously ignores the lawful rights of that Arab people to self-determination and statehood. This stand can hardly promote peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on a fair and comprehensive basis, quite the contrary, it leads away from this goal.

One gets the impression that the United States is concerned only about how to protect its strategic partner and ally in the Middle East from criticism and condemnation for bloody reprisals that Tel Aviv unleashes on residents of the West Bank of Jordan and Gaza Strip for their part in the Palestinian popular uprising that is in its 17th month. It is also obvious that Washington is more concerned over Israel's international isolation than the destiny of Palestinians who are persecuted by Tel Aviv for the reason that they press for the implementation in full measure of the United Nations decision on Palestine which envisage the existence of both the Jewish and a Palestinian State there.

Thus the United States and Israel make coordinated attempts to bypass the chief aspects of the Middle East settlement, to avoid convening an international conference on the Middle East under the United Nations auspices.

Medvedev Meets Congressman, ABC TV Officials

LD0604192589 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, on Thursday received George Brown, chairman of the Science and Technology Committee of U.S. Congress, Roone Arledge, president of the ABC News Television Network, and Mr Caplan, ABC News vice president.

Matters concerning cooperation in the field of news were discussed during the conversation which was held in a well-wishing and constructive atmosphere.

The two sides were gratified to point out fruitful efforts of the ABC News and the USSR State Committee for Television and Broadcasting in organizing a series of TV bridges involving parliamentarians of the two countries, and also considered specific proposals on further cooperation in this respect.

Medvedev told the guests about the processes of renewal taking place in the Soviet Union and manifesting themselves most vividly in the democratisation of the country's social life and in greater openness, emphasized a great importance of the recent elections of USSR people's deputies for Soviet society's further advance along the road of perestroika, and drew the interlocutors' attention to the key principles of the new political thinking.

U.S. Diplomats Visit Riga Newspaper Office

PM0704122389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 22 Mar 89 p 3

[V. Luganov report: "Meeting at the Editorial Office"]

[Text] James Kenney, representative of the U.S. Consulate General in Leningrad, and Tom Armbruster, a member of the U.S. Embassy in Finland, are in Riga on a familiarization trip.

Yesterday they visited our newspaper office. The guests asked about the sociopolitical processes taking place in the republic, the features of coverage of the preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies, and the reflection of interethnic relations in the newspaper. Journalists talked about the history of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, shared their ideas on the republic's socioeconomic situation, briefed the guests on the problems on which they are currently working, and answered the numerous questions asked by the guests.

Diplomat Training Seminar With U.S. Held

LD0604194189 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—In a groundbreaking effort, the Soviet Union and the United States have taken the first practical step in training their diplomatic personnel together. A Soviet-American seminar on methods of diplomatic negotiations was organised in Moscow by the Soviet Diplomatic Academy in conjunction with Harvard University, the academy's Rector Oleg Peresypkin told a press conference on Thursday.

American instructors demonstrated at the seminar their methods of conducting talks, forestalling procedures and handling alternatives. Simulation games were arranged to practice behaviours in complex international situations.

"Soviet and American diplomats have no doubts as to the range of topics for negotiations. The question is how to negotiate the topics," Professor Roger Fisher, foremost American expert in the theory and practice of international talks, said.

"It is no secret that diplomats often do no more than exchange what speechwriters prepared beforehand and pay no heed to each other's spoken arguments. Talks thus turn into a senseless dialogue of the deaf. That is why we should learn to 'dance together,'" Professor Fisher said.

First Deputy Chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Personnel and Training Department Andrey Stepanov said that the Soviet Union planned expansion of ties with American partners.

"In the course of our recent trip to the United States at the invitation of the consortium of American universities and their schools of international relations, we satisfied ourselves that both sides are equally interested in exchanges of scholars and experts in the field," Stepanov said.

"By pooling our efforts we can effectively upgrade training of specialists in international relations and promote better understanding between would-be career diplomats," Stepanov concluded.

China

Growing PRC Trade With Socialist Nations Noted

OW1104041489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] Reform in the USSR and China, as well as in other socialist countries, shares a common starting point—namely, improving socialism and promoting the people's living standard.

These grand tasks are being carried out in a situation of growing economic and trade relations between the socialist countries.

Here are some short reports in this aspect:

In recent years, Sino-Soviet relations in economy and trade have witnessed thriving development. It is estimated that the USSR-PRC trade volume will reach 2 billion rubles this year.

After many years of interruption, China and Mongolia are establishing direct goods exchange. The trade volume between them amounted to 50 million Swiss francs last year, a 400 percent increase over 1985.

According to data released by the State Statistical Bureau of the PRC, China exported chemical fertilizers, steel, scrap metal, cotton, plywood, tea, and medicine to Mongolia, while Mongolia exported timber, wool, and pelts to China.

According to Chinese newspaper reports, the border trade between China and Vietnam is expanding. Of course, this kind of trade is conducted on an informal basis. Wei Chunshu, chairman of the Guangxi-Zhuang Autonomous Regional People's Government, said recently that the volume of border trade with Vietnam, which was resumed 6 months ago, has been large in scale.

In addition to growing economic and trade cooperation between socialist countries, direct contacts between cities, provinces, and regions in socialist countries has become increasingly popular. Here are some examples:

Beijing, which has municipal status under the direct control of the central government and rights to establish direct contacts with the outside world, has signed an

agreement of direct exchanges with Hungary. This agreement stipulates that Beijing will provide Hungary with glass, agricultural machinery, tools, textiles, and other light industrial products. In the meantime, Hungary will supply machine manufacturing and electrical products to China.

A direct trade agreement between Beijing and Berlin will be signed this upcoming September, when an exhibition for light industrial products manufactured in Beijing will also be held in Berlin. In addition, an agreement has been reached that a carpet exhibition will be held in Berlin on the 40th anniversary of PRC National Day, which falls on 1 October.

A traditional Chinese restaurant will be opened in Sofia by the end of this year. Its decoration, equipment, and food, including various kinds of condiments and famous Peking duck will be supplied by the capital of China. Beijing will send two or three outstanding chefs to Sofia.

We believe that expanding economic and trade relations between socialist countries will be conducive to accelerating social and economic progress and promoting the working people's living standard. And this is a guarantee for smooth implementation of reform and socialist renovation.

Uzbekistan-Xinjiang Trade Ties Resumed

LD0904153789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] After a 35-year break, commercial ties have been renewed between Uzbekistan and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region in China. Evidence of this is the exhibition of consumer goods organized in the town of Andizhan, at which many items from China were displayed. The Chinese representatives invited to Uzbekistan for the occasion stated the expediency of further expanding economic and cultural ties. The traditional friendship between the peoples of Central Asia and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region, rooted in the depths of history, undoubtedly will serve the interests of the two countries.

Liaoning Governor Optimistic on USSR Ties

OW1104021589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 31 Mar 89

[From the "News" program]

[Text] Li Changchun, governor of the Liaoning Provincial People's Government, said at a press conference in Beijing that the prospects for Liaoning, a province in northeast China, to develop relations with border regions in the USSR are bright.

Answering a question raised by reporters, Li Changchun said: Liaoning Province used to have solid economic and technical relations with the USSR during the 1950's. Of the 156 capital construction projects built with Soviet assistance in those days, 26 were in Liaoning. Liaoning has resumed ties with border regions in the USSR since 1988. In that year, the amount of money in contracts Liaoning signed with border regions and oblasts in the USSR reached 180 million Swiss francs.

Chemical Industry Official Reviews PRC Visit

OW0804113389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 28 Mar 89

[From the "Half an Hour with Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] A Soviet Ministry of Chemical Industry delegation recently returned from a visit to China. (Chekliyev), chief of the Science and Technology Administration of the Soviet Ministry of Chemical Industry, was among the delegation's members. (Chekliyev) was interviewed by a reporter from our station.

[(Chekliyev), heard briefly in Russian, fading into announcer's Mandarin] Comrade (Chekliyev) said: Last year a number of experts from the Chinese Ministry of Chemical Industry visited the Soviet Union. Our delegation's visit to the PRC was actually a return visit. The Chinese comrades visited our research institutes and were acquainted with our research work in various fields. This time our delegation visited China. Our delegation included the general manager of a large research and production conglomerate under the Ministry of Chemical Industry. In China we learned about the scientific research and production work of some research institutes and industrial enterprises and conducted fruitful talks at the Chinese Ministry of Chemical Industry. The Chinese comrades working in the chemical industry field showed great interest in the subjects discussed during the talks.

Our reporter asked what subjects were discussed during the talks.

[(Chekliyev), heard briefly in Russian, fading into announcer's Mandarin] In reply, Comrade (Chekliyev) said: We discussed many questions—for example, the production of various kinds of polymers. It should be pointed out that our Chinese counterparts have made great achievements in this field. Although the Chinese side has purchased foreign technologies and many pieces of equipment, their own achievements in this field have attained a very high level. For example, I feel that Chinese plastic mold production is satisfactory.

Chinese experts are good at using foreign experience. They have installed a very effective production line that incorporates equipment made by several companies. This production line was recently completed in Beijing and is turning out quality products. The Chinese experts' approach in this regard is an advanced method. Regretfully, however, this approach is not often applied in our country. It should be noted that, like the Chinese comrades, we have purchased many pieces of equipment, but we have a tendency to buy whole sets of production

installations. This is not always best, because in many circumstances it would be more economical and feasible to use our own technologies. We should learn from the Chinese comrades about buying equipment and making effective production plans.

Our reporter asked what specific agreements were signed during the Soviet Ministry of Chemical Industry delegation's visit to China.

[(Chekliyev), heard briefly in Russian, fading into announcer's Mandarin] Comrade (Chekliyev), chief of the Soviet Ministry of Chemical Industry's Science and Technology Administration, said the following: We signed a series of documents on collaboration in research work on the production of polymers, dyes, and extra-pure substances. We reached agreement on the Chinese experts visiting the Soviet Union to work out detailed plans for cooperation in various fields. We also agreed that the work at this stage will be scientific research and the exchange of information. At the next stage we will establish a creative body consisting of both Chinese and Soviet experts. We are now at the first stage of cooperation—the stage of resuming our ties in the field of science and technology—and both the Soviet and Chinese sides have made significant efforts in this regard.

Foreign Trade Magazine Cites PRC Officials

OW0604044889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] The March issue of the Soviet FOREIGN TRADE [VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA] magazine carried a five-part article extensively discussing the trade and economic relationship between the Soviet Union and China. Wang Pingqing, vice minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, and Chinese experts on Soviet trade contributed their views on developing bilateral trade in these articles. They assessed in detail Soviet-Chinese trade, development, and cooperation between the industrial organizations of the two countries, expansion of border trade, and other promising cooperative forms.

Wang Pingqing stressed: When looking ahead, we may say that the trade and economic relationship has good prospects. He expressed the belief that mutual effort will bring the potential of this relationship into full play and bring benefits to people of both countries.

The magazine pointed out: The five-part article is the result of international trade cooperation between the Soviet FOREIGN TRADE magazine and China's publishing house. This publishing house also published articles by Soviet experts on Soviet-Chinese trade and other issues on economic relations.

NPC Deputies Discuss PRC Economic Problems

PM0704133589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov article: "How Should Economic 'Overheating' Be Dealt With? Deputies Discuss PRC Government Report"]

[Text] A session of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] has, as is well known, heard a report from Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, on the government's work. Observers, assessing the course of the discussion, have noted that the premier's report, approved by all CPC Central Committee Politburo members, was honest and specific. Its main points were: improving the health of the economy, instilling order, and deepening reform.

Noting the first successes in regulating the economy, the premier drew deputies' attention to the fact that excessively rapid price growth has led to a reduction in living standards for a considerable proportion of the urban population. This is worrying the people and weakening their confidence in the reform's success. The exacerbation of inflation, the report noted, is the result of economic "overheating," inordinate growth in investment, and an excess of demand over supply.

The government clearly discussed the shortcomings and errors committed in the process of replacing the old system with a new mechanism, and the underestimation of China's existing realities—namely, the country's huge population, shortage of resources, and extremely unequal development. The tendency to pursue immediate results proved too strong. Moreover, in pursuing a policy of decentralization and economic stimulation, the complexity of the reform and the need for control and coordination were clearly underestimated. As a result, capital construction and industrial processing sectors were left behind in terms of growth by agricultural production, power engineering, and the extraction of raw materials. Observers have noted that Deng Xiaoping, the main architect of the reform, who has not been handling day-to-day affairs of late, has shown willingness to share responsibility for these shortcomings with other leaders.

The deputies instructed the government to learn from past mistakes. "The roots of haste are to be found in the lack of scientific and democratic methodology," Mayor Wu Disheng [title as published] of Shanghai, one of China's largest industrial centers, believes. Wu Yaying, a teacher from Zhejiang Province, wonders why the opinion of many deputies on stabilizing the economy and prices was not heeded at the last session. Certain deputies are proposing setting up a more effective mechanism for monitoring the government's work within the framework of the NPC Standing Committee.

The thesis that flurries of activity and a desire to achieve results overnight meant that strategic issues such as education were forgotten was often voiced during the discussions.

The representatives from the northeastern province of Heilongjiang devoted a large part of one of their deputies' group sessions, which I attended, to precisely this subject. This opportunity, which was first granted to foreign journalists at the last session, has clearly become the parliamentary norm. There were 3 hours of discussion, debate, argument, and counterargument...

It is as if we imperceptibly lost sight of the social role of education, the representatives from Harbin City said. Apart from an obvious shortage of funds, the system itself is suffering from being divorced from reality. On graduating from school, young people are unadapted for life and do not understand the market economy. Vocational guidance should begin in school, one of the deputies demanded. On the other hand, respect for knowledge and patriotism should be inculcated from an early age and the reasons why customs are taught should be explained. Secondary school teachers should above all be given a raise. Their low standard of living is one indicator of unfair income distribution. The state should encourage a desire for knowledge.

Speakers were concerned about the lack of spiritual qualities in society and the need to restore the good popular traditions of "living simply and working hard"...

When the discussion ended I interviewed Deputy Ma Ji, vice president of the Harbin International Corporation for Technical and Economic Cooperation. We talked about education, foreign trade (his speciality), and ties with the Soviet Union. In the fifties, Ma Ji recalled, we actively eliminated illiteracy and then lost our taste for this work, with the result that students now leave school with an incomplete education. There are currently more than 200 million illiterates in the country. Everyone must be involved in this work. I proposed, my interlocutor said, that everyone pay an education tax, regardless of income tax—for instance, 1 percent, a small sum for everyone, but it would bring in billions of yuan. The entire nation should tackle education. Only then will things get moving.

[Savenkov] Soviet-Chinese border trade... This subject is constantly featured in the Chinese newspapers. What was the opinion of deputies from border provinces on the prospects for it?

[Ma] We are pleased that the trade is being restored. But now we must go further and deepen it. We must move from the exchanges of goods to construction contracts and joint ventures and involve Chinese labor in construction projects in Siberia and the Far East. Both sides are preparing for this.

'Splittists' Blamed for Tibet Unrest

PM0404162189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "China: The Door Is Open to the Dalai Lama, If..."]

[Text] Beijing—"The Chinese central government's policy vis-a-vis the Dalai Lama will remain the same," Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, vice chairman of the National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee and chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, said at a press conference in Beijing, "if the Dala Lama abandons his idea of an 'independent Tibet' and is prepared to contribute to the unity of the homeland and the building of a new Tibet."

The Dalai Lama, high priest of the Lamaist church in Tibet, emigrated to India after the failure of the antigovernment revolt in March 1959 and has been living abroad ever since. Ngapoi confirmed that last June in Strasbourg the Dalai Lama expressed a wish to hold talks with the central government. Moreover, he acknowledged Beijing's jurisdiction in matters of foreign relations and defense. Does this mean that the Dalai Lama has acknowledged Chinese sovereignty over Tibet?

The meeting between PRC Government representatives and the Dalai Lama's delegation, planned for January in Geneva, did not take place. Why? In Beijing's view, it was prevented by the following circumstances. In the first place, the Dalai Lama's delegation comprised members of the so-called "government-in-exile," which China does not recognize. It included a foreigner as legal adviser, whereas the problem of Tibet is a Chinese internal matter. Beijing will not accept interference by any outside forces: that is the second obstacle. Finally, the third obstacle: the Dalai Lama did not put himself forward as a participant in talks and did not appoint his personal representatives. But talks can only be held with the Dalai Lama or his personal representatives, the Beijing authorities believe.

Ngapoi reminded the press conference participants that the NPC Foreign Affairs Committee made a resolute protest concerning the U.S. Senate resolution on the Tibetan question accusing the Chinese Government of violating human rights. Then a similar protest and an expression of profound regret were sent to the European Parliament in connection with its resolution "On Human Rights in Tibet."

"The recent disturbances in Lhasa," Ngapoi said, "are neither an ethnic nor a religious issue, and certainly not a human rights question. They were outrages provoked by a handful of separatists and intended to split the country. Any sovereign state would have to adopt decisive measures to protect the country's territorial integrity."

Why was a handful of separatists able to organize disturbances of that size? Does it mean that the Tibetan populace does not accept the policy of the central government? Press conference participants noted that the main cause of the disturbances was incitement by splittists. There was mention of considerable changes in Tibetans' lives in recent decades, the rise in farmers' and stockraisers' living standards, and considerable financial and material resources set aside by the state for economic and cultural development in the autonomous region.

But all is not well in Tibet, Mayor Luoga of Lhasa, said. People still remember the grim days of the "Cultural Revolution," when temples and national relics were destroyed. Many gross errors were also committed by local government, including errors in the distribution of funds allocated by the center.

The martial law in Lhasa, which prevents foreigners from entering, will be lifted in due course, Mayor Luoga stated.

Northeast Asia

U.S., Not ROK, Obstructing DPRK Dialog

OW0404020089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Mar 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program; station observer Korolev commentary]

[Text] A document, jointly written by 24 political parties and public organizations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has been made public in Pyongyang. In this joint statement, they stress that Korea should be reunified through peaceful means. The measures they have put forward to attain this objective include cooperation in modern science and other fields. In this connection, station observer Korolev writes:

The reunification of Korea is the most cherished aspiration of the people in a country divided into two parts. The proposal of Democratic Korea has presented the measures for eliminating this abnormal situation. These measures have taken into consideration the situation in the Korean Peninsula as a whole, and the fact that two different social systems are in existence in South and North Korea. The public figures in Pyongyang have emphasized that effective measures should be adopted first to replace political and military confrontation, with mutual trust between the South and the North and then, on this basis, action be taken to approach the new peace initiative put forward by the representatives of the people in Democratic Korea in Pyongyang.

What sort of response have the people in Seoul made to this appeal from Pyongyang? The South Korean authorities have put forward a program about their new attitude to socialist Korea. People can see from this program the elements of realism and the beginning of an intention to avoid the old approach of regarding democratic Korea as an enemy. It seems that Seoul does not oppose having dialog with the North in various sectors. This is the verbal part; but what has been taking place in actual deeds?

Mun Ik-hwan, a famous clergyman, recently visited Pyongyang to spread the gospel. Without notifying the South Korean authorities beforehand, he arrived in Pyongyang from Tokyo to discuss issues concerning Korea's reunification. According to reports in Seoul, after he returned to South Korea, he was arrested for having contact with the North. There is also other proof that the Seoul authorities have gone all out to obstruct the people in the South from having contact with their compatriots in the North.

The problem, however, does not lie in Seoul. Washington's policy has had its influence. Washington apparently does not want to see the situation in the Korean peninsula develop in a way contrary to its strategic interests in the Far East.

Need for Inter-Korean Dialog Discussed

PM0304154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents A. Pashkov and A. Plutnik: "The Wall. Thoughts After a Visit to the DPRK"]

[Excerpts] Kaesong-Pyongyang-Moscow—With every kilometer, the demarcation line ever more visibly, ever more audibly reminds you that you are drawing closer. There are more people in military uniform—lean, smart, with a look of concentration on their faces, as if morally and physically in a state of full readiness. It must be said that there are a lot of military personnel everywhere in Korea. But their concentration here is so great that you are automatically seized with concern, which develops into a feeling of alarm on your arrival in Kaesong. You hear a burst of artillery fire; somewhere quite close by there is the sound of submachinegun fire; the rounds are short and sharp. However, the demarcation line along the 38th parallel has long spoken with this voice. But what does it mean on this occasion, at this point in time, this clearly expressed military accent in its pronunciation? Perhaps these are training shots? Maneuvers? Or has there been another incident?

Essentially, there is no border here in the classic meaning of the word. Despite this, it is precisely here that it is drawn in surprisingly sharp, prominent relief, although, formally, it merely appears as a black line on gray concrete slabs—a line that divides the DPRK border guards and American marines who have remained here, in the center of the Korean peninsula, even 35 years after the signing of the armistice, although they stand quite close to each other, possibly only 20 meters apart. There they stand, the two sides. The former stand at attention, frozen in the performance of their military duty. The latter, on the other side, behave freely, not to say unduly

freely. They laugh amongst themselves, looking in our direction. We are told by the Korean border guards that the Americans constantly try to infuriate them, using the most diverse methods, of which the favorite is pointing their rifles at people.

There are no border markers, no obstacles. However, that is only true here, in this narrow section. This is the only point of contact between the two sides—seemingly the most implacable in today's world, where so much is changing for the better. The watershed between two worlds is just outside Kaesong. This is where the armies of the North and South, among the largest in Asia and excellently trained, stand facing each other. In addition, there is the U.S. expeditionary corps on the southern side. At this point there is a narrow connecting strip between them; here, if you like, is the place of meeting. Everywhere else they are divided by a wall. We saw it through a stereoscopic telescope, snaking along the other side of the neutral strip, through South Korean border territory, crossing the peninsula from east to west. [passage omitted]

The new thinking appears to have touched the unshakable foundations of world politics. It is lapping the shores of every corner of the globe. Everywhere the walls of uncompromising attitudes and intransigence are crashing down. But people in the different parts of Korea still largely live on the basis of the old notions. Even a neutral word about South Korea is still sometimes interpreted in the DPRK as an attack on the North. When Hungary opened its permanent mission in Seoul in October 1988, Pyongyang described this as "betrayal by an old socialist friend." Here there was no applause for the high appraisals with which the Summer Olympics in Seoul were received all over the world. Even last year's talks in South Korea with a delegation of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry were greeted cautiously. During Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to the DPRK, a reassuring explanation was given: The Soviet Union has no intention of officially recognizing South Korea or establishing political and diplomatic relations with it.

The wall continues to exist—noticeably dilapidated, however, from the winds of the processes taking place in the world. It seems to us that the new thinking, like a powerful battering ram, will breach this alienation in the not-too-distant future. Both North and South are equally tired of living with years of tension.

In conversation with us, Comrade Pak Song-chol, member of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee Politburo and vice president of the DPRK, said that the unification of the country is the highest just dream and main task of all Korean people. Independence, peaceful unification, and great national consolidation are the principles on which the Republic proposes to base reunification.

In an attempt to speed up the country's independent unification, the leaders of the DPRK have put forward initiatives that have found support throughout the world. The spirit of new thinking is clearly apparent in these initiatives.

The Soviet Union, as is well known, has given full support to the proposal made by Comrade Kim Il-song at the Sixth WPK Congress to create a Democratic Confederal Republic of Korea, and also the proposals to convene a joint North-South conference and hold tripartite talks and military-political talks at a high level between North and South.

Preliminary meetings between DPRK and South Korean delegations to prepare for military-political talks at the level of heads of government are being held in the region of the Panmunjom point, which we visited. The Seoul and U.S. military have ostentatiously accompanied them with military maneuvers. The first two meetings have not produced any noticeable progress. But the sides at the talks are unanimous on one point: dialog is needed. And it will continue. [passage omitted]

ROK Ruling Party Desire for DPRK Ties Noted

PM0704154189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "South Korea-DPRK: Maintaining Peaceful Dialog"]

[Text] Tokyo, 5 Apr—South Korea intends to continue pursuing a policy of developing relations with the DPRK and other socialist countries, Yi Chong-chan, secretary general of the ruling Democratic Justice Party [DJP], has declared in Seoul.

He said that this decision had been made at a session of the DJP leadership and the Cabinet of Ministers, held in Seoul. The South Korean side, he said, will continue efforts to maintain a dialog with the DPRK. Under the existing accord, on 12 April Seoul will send its representatives to the third preparatory meeting to organize direct talks between the two sides' heads of government.

Questions of expanding trade and humanitarian exchanges with the DPRK were also examined attentively at the session, Yi Chong-chan reported. In particular, the South Korean side is ready to discuss within the framework of a bilateral economic meeting a joint project to create a tourist center in the Kumgangsan Mountains on North Korean territory.

ROK Politicians Invited for Talks in DPRK

PM0304125189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Reunification"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 2 Apr—Invitations to come to the DPRK to participate in a political consultative conference involving North and South leaders were sent to

South Korean President No Tae-u and the leaders of the South's leading opposition parties and other representatives early this year and are still valid today. They can visit Pyongyang together or individually. Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, said this in a conversation with Mun Ik-hwan, an adviser from South Korea's National Coalition of Democratic Movements, who was in the DPRK.

The unification of the motherland on the basis of the principles of independence, peace, and national consolidation is a course consistently followed by the DPRK, Kim Il-song continued. We must replace the existing armistice agreement in Korea by a peace agreement and we want the North and South to adopt a declaration on nonaggression and considerably reduce their armed forces and arsenals.

Our motherland should be reunited on the basis of a confederal system. The state thereby created would invariably implement a policy of independence, neutrality, and nonalignment.

Travel Abroad Banned for 25 ROK Dissidents

18070201C Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Apr 89 First Edition p 5

[Text] **Travel abroad has been prohibited** to 25 South Korean public figures. Among them are representatives of the National Coalition of Democratic Movements and the Association of Workers in National Literature of South Korea. This was announced from Seoul by the YONHAP information agency. This measure was taken because of Mun Ik-hwan's recent visit to Pyongyang, which was not sanctioned by the Seoul administration. The ban on the departure of public figures from South Korea, YONHAP points out, is intended to prevent future trips to the DPRK like Mun Ik-hwan's.

Correspondent Views DPRK Society, Economy

PM2903092389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent S. Tikhomirov dispatch: "When the Wild Rosemary Blossoms"]

[Excerpts] PRAVDA correspondent Sergey Tikhomirov has started work in Pyongyang. We publish his first report. [passage omitted]

From a conversation with Yi Chae-yun, deputy chief engineer at Kangson Steel Mill. [passage omitted].

I asked Yi Chae-yun whether workers at the mill have a high absenteeism rate.

My interlocutor looked at me mistrustfully at first, as if he did not understand the question, then his face broke into a smile. Lighting up another cigarette, he sighed: "Unfortunately, there have been cases of absenteeism over the last few years. But it is mainly young guys 'playing hooky.'"

[Tikhomirov] "How many holidays and nonwork days are there on the mill's work calendar?"

"Let's see," Yi Chae-yun said. Turning to his assistant as if testing himself, he began to count slowly on his fingers: "New Year—1 January; Beloved Leader Comrade Kim Chong-il's Birthday—16 February; Great Leader Comrade Kim Il-song's birthday—15 April; International Worker Solidarity Day—1 May; Korean Liberation Day—15 August; DPRK Formation Day—9 September; Metal Workers' Day—9 October; Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Day—10 October; Constitution Day—27 December; and then...."

"And the lunar New Year," I reminded Yi Chae-yun....

"True," he concurred. "This year is the first that we've observed that holiday."

I asked the deputy chief engineer to share his plans for the future.

"The mill's rated capacity is 1 million tonnes of steel per year. However, today we are producing somewhere in the area of 800,000 tonnes. By the end of 1993, when the plant is expanded and reconstructed, we plan to reach the million mark."

[Tikhomirov] "It cannot be denied that these are impressive rates...."

"Don't forget," Yi Chae-yun added, "that our plant is the home of the Chollima movement (Chollima is a fairy-tale winged horse which could travel thousands of leagues in a day. It is a character in ancient Korean legends). This movement arose in 1957. Then we smelted 100,000 tonnes of steel against the planned 60,000...."

Well, our friends' success cannot fail to delight us. The conscientious and talented Korean people have achieved impressive successes in many spheres of industry, science, and education. Sometimes it has even seemed that they could surpass the legendary Chollima, "rivalling" it, for instance, in speed of metal smelting or rates of construction. On the other hand, as one of my colleagues observed: While admiring the new ultramodern hotels, the stunning palaces, and other monumental constructions, you cannot help wondering: Is the "winged steed" not traveling too "fast," and isn't there too much of this stone magnificence per capita in Pyongyang City, for

instance? But in the end, I tried to protest to my colleague, Pyongyang has been turned from a little town of wooden buildings into a city of marble, glass, and concrete; but....

But there is another side. Our Korean comrades do not hide the fact that the DPRK is still having difficulties in supplying the population with certain foodstuffs and industrial goods. For instance, rice, meat, and milk are rationed. The normal ration of grain for the population is as follows: Miners, mining engineers, and other categories of workers employed in heavy physical labor receive 1 kg per day; employees, pensioners, and disabled members of society obtain 700 grams per day; and children get 300 grams. [passage omitted]

In the few years since I last visited Pyongyang, the city has changed greatly. No, the center is still the same. The general store opposite the Mansudae Theater, low apartment blocks finished off with multicolored slabs along the main street, austere government buildings, apartments, a bank building—one of the few buildings that remained intact during the American bombings—and the Taedonggang Hotel, almost the first postwar building. The House of Learning, built in traditional Korean style, is here. New Changkwang Street starting at the ancient Potkhunmun [name as transliterated] Gate is 5 minutes' walk away.

The best hotel in Pyongyang at present is the "Coree." Why at present? Because a new 105-story hotel is being built in the city today.

Our country's press has written and is writing a great deal about the new Kwangpok residential district that is being constructed especially for the 13th World Youth and Student Festival to be held in Pyongyang at the beginning of July. And for a Korean to talk about the DPRK capital and not to mention Kwangpok is the equivalent of a Muscovite talking about his native city and forgetting Novyy Arbat. [passage omitted]

It is worthy of note that the ties between our two countries are extremely multifaceted. The foundations of these ties were laid exactly 40 years ago when the USSR and the DPRK signed the Treaty on Economic and Cultural Cooperation. Let us note, however, that not all the facets of this cooperation are ideally smooth. Let us face the truth: We encounter ups and downs in the development of bilateral relations—sometimes considerable ups and downs. But that is another matter. By and large, in the opinion of both sides, equitable, mutually beneficial cooperation benefits both the Soviet people and the friendly Korean people.

A girl in a military-style uniform disappeared into an underground passage, and I heard the sound of wooden submachine gun butts tapping together in time with hurried steps.

Well, the situation in the country and on the Korean Peninsula as a whole is extremely complex, a Korean friend of mine complained when I told him about my encounter on the street. Otherwise, he said, you would hardly see so many Koreans, including girls, in military uniform and you would not encounter military patrols in the center of Pyongyang so often—and carrying wooden guns rather than real Kalashnikovs.

One reason for the difficult economic situation in the DPRK and the complex, contradictory military-political situation on the Korean Peninsula, according to official Pyongyang, is that the nation and the country have been split in two and in effect into two states with different sociopolitical systems for more than 40 years.

The destructive 1950-1953 war, when Koreans fought Koreans, ended with the signing of an armistice. However, to this day, owing to the U.S. refusal to sign a peace treaty with the DPRK, North and South Korea are divided by a demarcation line. This means that the DPRK is forced to spend considerable sums on defense. From across the 38th Parallel it sees leveled at it not only more than 600,000 bayonets of the South Korean Army— an Army which in 1988 alone received approximately $7 billion for its needs—but also the 43,000-strong Pentagon corps, whose nuclear arsenals on South Korean territory contain up to 1,000 warheads.

Washington's refusal to send its boys home is by no means attributable to its concern for an ally's security. No. It is much more prosaic. South Korea was and still is the most important U.S. strategic outpost in this region of Asia.

Nonetheless it is gratifying that inter-Korean dialog has continued recently in various areas: from sporting talks to contacts aimed at preparing for a meeting at the level of North and South heads of government. Many political observers see Pyongyang and Seoul's readiness for compromise and desire to improve the situation on the peninsula as a good sign. This wins support from the Soviet Union and the region's progressive forces. [passage omitted]

Soviet Official Rejects Japan Territorial Claims

OW0704143489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] As has already been reported, a briefing session was held for journalists in Moscow on 4 April and Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Chizhov, chief of the Pacific and Southeast Asian Countries Department, made a statement. In this connection, we will present you with excerpts from Chief Chizhov's remarks concerning consultations of the working group aimed at concluding a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty. Chief Zhizhov first said:

No peace treaty exists between the two countries, although almost 45 years have passed since the end of the war. This is attributable to Japan's territorial claim toward the Soviet Union. The former Soviet position that this issue was already settled naturally caused Japan's negative reaction. The initiative displayed by the Soviet Union regarding the establishment of a permanent working group on a peace treaty represents a policy based on a new way of thinking, and we can appreciate it as a great step responsive to Japan's desire. It also can be regarded as a proof that the Soviet Union wants to develop and improve relations with Japan. However, this does not mean that the Soviet Union has changed its position on the territorial issue.

Chief Chizhov then made the following remarks as to how the first round of consultations by the working group on a peace treaty was conducted:

In its approach, the Japanese side sought to discuss only the territorial issue. However, the Soviet side did not agree to this approach. It was all too clear that limiting the issue of concluding a peace treaty to the issue of the territorial question would doom the talks to failure. The Soviet plan concerning a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty represents a comprehensive document containing political, economic, geographical, and other broad features. Taking into consideration the reality of bilateral relations in the present international community, the Soviet side thinks that the results of World War II should become the fundamental principle in the approach toward the details of the peace treaty. In addition, the peace treaty should clarify the peaceful desire of the two sides. It should also clarify a geographical aspect, that is, it should firmly define Soviet-Japanese boundaries after World War II.

Explaining to journalists that southern islands of the Kuriles belong to the Soviet Union on the grounds of international law and on a historical and geographical basis, Chief Chizhov said:

The Soviet position is based on current principles and international legal norms set forth in the UN Charter, including Article 107. Article 107 is a fundamental document recognizing the results of the war. One of Japan's postwar major legal documents on national boundaries is the 1945 Yalta Agreement. This Yalta Agreement is still binding on the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and Japan.

Citing historical grounds, Chief Chizhov also said: The Soviet Union has the grounds on which to believe that the Kuriles, including the four southern islands, have belonged to Russia since olden times. The Kuriles were included in Russian territory when Japan was still pusuing a rigid policy of seclusion.

Various arguments were made at the first round of talks by the working group on concluding a peace treaty. However, the Japanese side presented no definitive answer regarding the question. It is saying that it will present a solution to the issue at the next talks of the working group. According to remarks by Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kuriyama, Japan heard the Soviet view on such a comprehensive form for the first time. The Soviet side thinks the first round of talks of the peace treaty working group was very beneficial on the whole and promoted Soviet-Japanese relations to some degree. Answering a question by a Radio Moscow reporter, Chief Chizhov said Japan is inactive in preparing for Soviet leader General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan. He said:

I say Japan is inactive on the grounds that Japan assumes an ambiguous attitude on the Soviet side's proposal that the two sides sign a series of agreements concerning economic, scientific-technological, and humanitarian affairs. The Japanese side is expressing the view that a visit to Japan by a top-level leader should have concrete substance. However, it has failed to present its own proposals while refusing to accept Soviet proposals. We can see from this Japanese position that Japan wants to obtain concessions from the Soviet Union regarding the territorial question, counting on the Soviet desire to develop economic relations with Japan.

After making the above remarks, Chief Chizhov said: The Soviet Union does not force its position on any other country nor solicit favors from anyone. We believe that any agreement should be based on mutual benefits.

We have just presented you with excerpts from remarks by Mr Chizhov, chief of the Pacific and Southeast Asian Countries Department, at a press briefing.

Change to Japanese Textbooks on Territories Rejected
PM1004123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Correspondent I. Latyshev article: "Twenty-two Amendments: Distorting Japan's History"]

[Text] Tokyo—Leaders of Japan's Education Ministry have recently begun working furiously to amend school history textbooks. In all, the ministry proposes some 22 amendments to the texts of these books, certainly not because Japanese historians' research has revealed new historical facts. The facts in the books remain the same, but the opinion of the ministry's leaders is that they should be assessed differently—quite differently. This applies to, among other things, evaluation of the history of Japan's relations with Russia. One amendment contains, for example, the instruction that henceforth the Soviet lands to which those who support revision of the postwar Soviet-Japanese borders lay unlawful claim be called in school books "Japanese territories from time immemorial."

No less significant are the ministry leaders' tendentious assessments of the Russo-Japanese War, which, as everyone knows, was started and won by Japan and led

ultimately to the separation of South Sakhalin from Russia and the establishment of Japanese militarism's dominant influence in Korea and Manchuria. Addressing a press conference at the foreign correspondents' club on March 9, Education Minister Takeo Nishioka said Japan fought the Russian war for "defensive purposes" and that Japan's victories in the Japanese-Chinese War of 1894-1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 "consolidated Japan's prestige in the world community." In that connection the education minister said that in school textbooks Admiral Heihachiro Togo, commander of the Japanese squadron at the Battle of Tsushima [1905 defeat of Russian fleet], should be restored to the pedestal of "national hero," from which he was removed in the postwar years along with other idols of Japanese militarism.

The recommendations and comments by the Education Ministry leaders cited above have quite definite political aims. The main one is to drum into the younger generation of Japanese, who have a poor knowledge of Japanese militarism's crimes, the idea that the aggressive wars Japan launched against its neighbors at the end of the last century and the first half of the present one were justified. In so doing the ministry's leaders are hoping to inculcate militarist, monarchical, and Great Japanese sentiment in the population once more. It is no coincidence that the ministry's recommendations to all the country's schools propose that the compulsory study programs of the six grades of primary school include such "bibles" of Japanese militarism as the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi," which present the myths of the "divine origin" of the imperial dynasty and Japan's special historical mission, again following the example of the prewar and war years.

The Japanese Education Ministry's persistent attempts to introduce a long-discredited ideology into the education of Japanese youth are causing firm objections from the Japanese Communist Party and other democratic and peace-loving organizations. It is noteworthy that these attempts are being opposed first and foremost by the country's teachers, the majority of whom are affiliated with the Japanese teachers union, which opposes the revival of militarist ideology in the country. The ministry's recommendations on the changes in the content of school history textbooks are rejected by tens of thousands of Japanese teachers.

As for the recent comments by Education Minister Nishioki, his blatant attempts to whitewash Japanese militarism have caused protests not only among the country's democratic circles, but also abroad. There have been angry responses in Hong Kong and South Korea, where the authorities usually try not to spoil relations with Japan. And, by the way, the protests have had an effect: They have forced the unduly zealous worshipper of the Japanese generals' "heroic feats" to back down. The newspapers have reported that Education Minister Nishioka has had to call another news conference where he stated with some discomfort that his recent statements had "not been understood entirely correctly" and that he has no intention of trying to justify Japanese aggression. As we can see, it is not so easy for Japan's conservative politicians to return the country to its old militarist path. They are having to maneuver and sometimes even back down.

Soviet-Japanese Forestry Cooperation Viewed

OW0504230289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Fron the "Siberian Tour" program; talk by Andrey Pavlov of the Soviet State Planning Committee]

[Excerpts] We would like to have you listen to the following talk by Mr Andrey Pavlov of the Soviet State Planning Committee on the prospects for forestry development in the Soviet Far East and the possibility of cooperation with Japan in this field:

Timber is the most abundant resource in the Soviet Far East. This region abounds in acicular and broadleaf trees. Logging of these trees has traditionally determined the economic development structure of the eastern part of the Soviet Union. This area is home to 28 percent of the USSR's timber. More than one-third of the timber felled in this area is exported. Around half of the exports from the Soviet Far East consist of forestry products or products of the pulp and papermaking industry. [passage omitted]

The technological renewal of forestry enterprises for the purpose of priority development of the production of chips, wood fiberboard, and other forestry products through high technology is premised on the development of business exchanges with companies of foreign countries, led by Japan. We already have experience in such cooperation. The USSR and Japan have great experience in cooperation in developing forestry resources. From the 1970's to the 1980's three agreements on the Soviet supply of logs and unsawn timber to Japan and the purchase of technical equipment, the means of transportation, and consumer commodities from Japan were successfully signed.

At present, a compensation trade agreement on the supply of chips and timber for industrial use to Japan and the purchase of timber processing equipment and machinery between the All-Union Export Association—Eksportles—and the Japan chip trading company is in effect. The agreement will be in effect until 1990.

Let us now talk about prospects for Japanese cooperation in developing forestry resources in the Far East. The Soviet Union wishes to engage in cooperation with Japanese companies in the sophisticated processing of forestry products. Additional possibilities for such cooperation have been opened up by the start of the development of forestry resources along the Bami-Baikha-Amur Railway. The total volume of timber in this area is

more than 10 billion cubic meters, half of which consists of larch, which is much stronger and durable than other acicular trees. Because larch requires special processing technology, it has not been fully utilized by the pulp and paper industry in our country. Japanese companies possessing experience in this field can provide an urgent solution for this problem.

At present, negotiations with Japanese companies to set up a joint venture to manufacture plywood from larch in the Far East are underway. Japanese trading companies such as Itochu, Nichimen, Marubeni, and Nissho Iwai have shown interest in a joint venture in timber processing with Soviet organs such as the Vneshlenprom firm. In the event of a contract being signed, the experience of the Soviet-Japanese timber processing joint venture Igirma-Tairiku in Irkutsk may be helpful.

There is also the possibility of intensifying bilateral cooperation in the field of lumbering: for instance, in development of the northern region of the Far East from Togur to Shumikha. The development of this area requires the construction of 150 kilometers of railroad connecting it to Bami. In the future, 2 million cubic meters of timber can be transported annually using this railroad. Our country also hopes that Japanese companies will participate in this project. The main form of cooperation should be the establishment of processing enterprises that turn out products with large added value. In so doing, it will be possible to accelerate a shift to intensive development of forestry complexes in the Soviet Far East.

Japan-U.S. 'Friction' Over FSX Plane Viewed

OW0504131789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] It seems as if it was only recently that Japanese observers were speculating as to what kind of unexpected gifts the new Bush administration would bring to Japan. Finally, the first of such gifts turned out to be the U.S. plan to revise the agreement on the joint development of the FSX signed during the Reagan administration.

The U.S. Congress and the new U.S. leaders are concerned that if technology is transferred to Japan, the United States may suffer an economic loss. For this reason, the United States is now calling for a revision of the official agreement, but the Japanese side has not consented to this request.

Vice Defense Minister Nishihiro of the Japanese Defense Agency failed to iron out the differences in opinions during his visit to the United States last month. Since then it has become clear that the official document will not be signed soon. It seems that the U.S. side plans to stick to its demands.

Aircraft production technology is one of the very few areas in which Japan is still unable to compete with the United States. It is, so to speak, the last U.S. stronghold in the Japan-U.S. trade war and the United States does not want to give it up without a struggle. On the other hand, it was none other than the Unites States which strongly demanded the joint development of the FSX, the next-generation support fighter of the Japanese Air Self-Defense Force. The United States decided on the program because independent development of the FSX by Japan might provide Japan with a good reason to develop its own aviation and space industry. In short, there was the possibility that the FSX development might create another threat to U.S. economic interests.

Regardless of whether Japan will develop the FSX independently, or with the United States providing its technology within the framework of joint development, the United States is bound to suffer a loss. The point at issue is in which case the United States will suffer a greater loss.

Meanwhile, the present U.S. Administration does not seem to have clarified the issue. For example, Professor Seizaburo Sato of Tokyo University pointed out that the friction over the FSX issue has already caused damage to Japan-U.S. relations. At one time, the two sides were able to settle sharp differences regarding trade by demonstrating unity in the military field. However, now we are witnessing a situation in which military exchange may soon become another issue in the field of trade and, like other issues, may lead to further frictions. It seems that Japan was shocked to find out about this.

According to Professor Kuniko Inoguchi of Sophia University, the FSX issue had been discussed in the United States mainly from the viewpoint of competitive strength. From these remarks, we can notice not only that the issue has caused indignation in some quarters but also raised the question as to what on earth is Japan to the United States, a military ally or an economic opponent?

Nevertheless, the most important issue should not be hidden by all the above-mentioned problems and nuances of the Japan-U.S. dispute over the FSX issue. This most serious issue was raised by ASAHI SHIMBUN which questioned if Japan really needs the FSX. Indeed, why does Japan need for its Air Force such an aircraft, a super-sophisticated fighter-bomber, whose capabilities violate the government's defense doctrine?

In the final analysis, the point at issue is Japan's further arms or military buildup. When viewed from this ultimate objective, the issue as to how the FSX is to be developed is of not much importance. However, it is precisely this ultimate objective that is of the greatest concern to Japan's neighboring countries as well as to Japan itself. Nevertheless, discussions in Japan have focused not on this major issue but mostly on the technical aspect of the matter.

Judging from various respects, the Japanese authorities who consider the issue regarding the method of developing FSX as settled are also focusing their attention on this point. Without waiting for the conclusion of an agreement with the United States, the Defense Agency plans to sign a contract with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, the major participant in this program, on 31 March.

This step has caused displeasure in the United States and, at the same time, objectively strengthened the position of those who advocate independent development of the FSX. In this case the Japanese Government has sacrificed, openly and probably for the first time, the Japan-U.S. relationship for the benefit of Japanese military industrial circles.

It is rather difficult to predict what measures the U.S. Congress and Government will take in the future. In any event, the intensifying friction will not likely promote stability in Japan-U.S. relations.

Japanese TV Linkup With 'Mir' Planned for 16 Jul
LD0604102589 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Tokyo April 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov:

A direct video linkup with the Soviet orbital complex "Mir" will hold central place in the television program, which will be shown this summer throughout the territory of Japan. The "Tokai" Television Network has announced plans to arrange such a "space bridge", which will link up the Soviet space research station, cosmonaut training centres in the USSR and the United States, and the Japanese town of Nagoya.

The program is scheduled for July 16, when the international "Design Expo-89" display will open in Nagoya. The sponsors have decided to invite there as guest of honour Vladimir Titov, the Soviet cosmonaut, who set a record last year by staying in outer space for 366 days.

In the course of this one-hour program, its participants will be able to converse with the "Mir" crew, to familiarize themselves with the work and life of researchers on the near-earth orbit.

Journalists Urge Trust Between Japan, USSR
OW1004031589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] News commentators of Japan's KYODO NEWS AGENCY and TASS correspondents have held roundtable talks in Moscow. A common view among the Soviet and Japanese sides was that a strong feeling of trust should be cultivated between the USSR and Japan. While the discussions were held in a cordial atmosphere, the participants pointed to unmistakable facts showing distinct discontent in both countries with the current state of Soviet-Japanese relations.

According to TASS, participants in the roundtable talks agreed that the USSR and Japan, which are neighboring countries, should not only have normal relations but must also cooperate closely in the international arena.

Near East & South Asia

Situation Around Khowst 'Seriously Aggravated'
LD1104204989 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Kabul April 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

The situation in the Afghan district of Khowst was seriously aggravated after rebels commanded by Pakistani and Saudi military advisers launched an assault on positions of government troops from three directions Monday.

The rebels used tanks and armoured personnel carriers. Now this area is swept by fierce fighting. There have been no reports on the sides' losses.

Over the past 24 hours, rebels once more attacked Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province, firing rockets, shells and mines at its residential quarters.

According to reports reaching here, five civilians were killed in the attack. Government troops lost three people killed and nine injured.

The artillery of the Jalalabad garrison delivered retaliatory strikes at areas of rebels' deployment, killing 318 and injuring 157 rebels. Those killed included three military instructors from Saudi Arabia and two Pakistani soldiers.

During an artillery preparation government troops destroyed five recoilless guns, six missile launchers, four long-range guns, several anti-aircraft defence systems, and more than twenty firing positions of the enemy.

Rebels shelled the city of Herat, killing one person and injuring six others.

Despite the hostilities going on in Qandahar Province, refugees continue returning to the area. On Monday, 428 Afghan nationals who had lived for a long time in Pakistan returned to the province, BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY said.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent three notes to the U.N. Good Offices Mission, citing new facts of Pakistan's violations of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

Najibullah Optimistic on National Independence

LD1104140489 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 11 APR 89

[Text] Sofia April 11 TASS—As a result of effective actions by the republic's armed forces, the military and political situation in Afghanistan is on the whole shaping in favour of the country's national independence, emphasised Afghan President Najibullah.

Within a short period the situation in the country began to develop in favour of national sovereignty and broadening the social basis of the people's government, he pointed out in an interview with Bulgarian newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The opposition's expectations that the government in Kabul would collapse within several weeks after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the country proved unrealistic.

"Practice has shown that the Afghan Armed Forces have a high morale. They are prepared to issue a heroic and crushing rebuff to any interference or attack from the outside. The Jalalabad developments illustrate this. Even some prejudiced countries and governments have had to reconsider their evaluation of the military capabilities of the Afghan Government".

"The war which has continued for almost ten years has entailed tremendous loss of life and economic damage to the Afghan people", Najibullah went on to say.

"The war claimed a toll of thousands of lives of honest and staunch sons of Afghanistan that were an immeasurable asset of our people. The bulk of industrial enterprises have been destroyed and power and water supply systems disrupted. Those which have remained intact are either damaged or operate at only part of their capacity".

"The economic damage inflicted upon such economically less-developed country as Afghanistan can be described as disastrous. The Afghan Government in every way seeks to bring about an end to the brutal war which is the most terrible national disaster of Afghanistan. The broadest measures corresponding to the country's resources are being taken to solve economic problems. The government also counts on international assistance".

Touching upon prospects for a political settlement of the Afghan problem, Najibullah pointed out that, in the Afghan Government's opinion, the most appropriate formula for solving all regional and common problems is 'through dialogue and mutual understanding', and not through the use of force.

He voiced hope that Pakistan which signed the Geneva accords, the United States which performs the role of an international guarantor would fulfil their obligations to the world community. This would meet the national interests of Pakistan and would promote stronger security in the region.

"Our opinion is", the Afghan president went on to say, "that national reconciliation is the only solution to the problem in the current internal political and military situation in Afghanistan.

"The Afghan Government comes out in favour of achieving all-embracing peace and national reconciliation which will be of benefit to everyone. We also hope and believe that the United Nations Organisation and all peace-loving countries which may play a role in bringing about an end to the war in our country should perform their mission in achieving genuine and lasting peace".

Asian Republics Delegation Received in Kabul

LD1104213989 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Kabul April 11 TASS—Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of Afghan Council of Ministers' Executive Committee, met a delegation from Soviet Asian republics here on Tuesday.

The Soviet delegation is visiting Afghanistan on invitation from the Afghan Government.

The sides discussed ways of expanding bilateral social and economic contacts and friendly ties between the Soviet Asian republics and neighbouring Afghan provinces.

PNC Chairman Cited on Soviet Mideast Policy

LD1004224189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report and interview with Palestine National Council [PNC] Chairman Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih by correspondent I. Rostovtsev in Al-Buq'ah refugee camp in Jordan; date not given—recorded; interview portion in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Rostovtsev] Refugees. There is something bitter and degrading to human dignity in this concept. People without citizenship, without passports who have lost contact with their native land. We filmed these shots in the Al-Buq'ah Palestinian refugee camp in the vicinity of Hamam. Who has ever counted how many of them there are here in Jordan alone? And what about in other countries which at one time gave them refuge? UN Resolution No 181, adopted back in 1947, to this day remains only half implemented. Tel Aviv has preferred to forget that it is not only evidence of the birth of Israel, but also guarantees the right of the Palestinians to their own independent state. And yet, the latest world events

testify that the searches for a way to unblock this prolonged and dangerous conflict are gathering pace. I am talking to Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, chairman of the Palestine National Council. [Rostovtsev switches to Arabic] How do you evaluate Soviet efforts aimed at the urgent settling of the Middle East crisis and at resolving its key problem, the Palestinian problem?

[Al-Sa'ih] We believe that the USSR, as a great power, fully feels its responsibility for the cause of peace, and is doing everything it can to ensure that all peoples are able to realise their inalienable rights. The recent meetings in Damascus, Amman, Cairo, and Baghdad are excellent demonstrations of this.

[Rostovtsev] However, it is no secret that there are differing points of view in the Arab world with respect to the recent meeting between Shevardnadze and Arens in Cairo. What is more, some people see this as a change in the stance of the Soviet Union with regard to the Palestinian problem. What is your view?

[Al-Sa'ih] The Soviet Union has not retreated one step from its stance with regard to the struggle of the Palestinian people, and to ways and methods of resolving our problem. In the Soviet Union we see a selfless friend who can be depended upon. [video shows views of refugee camp, refugees, and interview with Al-Sa'ih]

Effects of Palestinian 'Intifadah' Assessed

18070191 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Lapin under the rubric "International Notes": "The Flame of Intifadah"]

[Text] **On 30 March, "Defense of the Land Day," the Arab people of Palestine honor the memories of patriots killed by Israeli police in 1976 during protest demonstrations against the violent seizure of Arab lands by Israel.**

Events of that time are but one episode out of the 40 years during which Israel, under the pretext of ensuring its own security, has been trying to deprive the entire nation of Palestinian Arabs of a homeland and to trample on and humiliate them. After seizing land in the territory of Palestine, which was earmarked by a UN decision for an Arab state, the leaders from Tel Aviv tried not only to "cleanse" the "promised land" of Palestinian Arabs no matter what, but also to create the kind of situation in which the Palestinian Arabs could not build their own independent state under any circumstances. And the methods for this were the criminal banishment of Palestinians from their land and genocide.

Today, the Arab lands occupied by Israel are in truth a battlefield. An "intifadah" has been going on for almost 16 months—an uprising against Israeli troops and police by unarmed Palestinians who have crossed the threshold of despair. There are barricades and burning automobile tires on the streets and almost uninterrupted strikes, and schools and universities have been closed by order of the authorities. This is today's reality in the Arabic parts of Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Gaza.

In response to the protests of the Arab population, the occupiers are resorting to the kind of savage force that suggests they want to exceed their own cruelty, which has more than once astounded the world in the last 40 years. There are firings on demonstrations almost every day, as a resut of which people die from plastic or conventional bullets used by the chastisers. After combing the "rebel" districts, hundreds of Palestinians find themselves behind bars, where they are subjected to humiliation and cruel beatings, which at times end in death. The homes of those arrested are frequently levelled to the ground to coerce the neighbors, and the agricultural crops of the peasants in the villages are destroyed by bulldozers. An emergency situation is declared constantly in one region or another. It can last several days, during which there is a ban on the delivery of medicines and food and the movement of ambulances. and water is cut off and, at times, even elctricity. The bandit activity of Israeli extremists has been intensified.

The occupiers constantly "perfect" their monstrous instruments of "pacification." Under the guise of "rubber bullets," steel pellets or cylinders covered with a thin layer of rubber are used that cause a complete paralysis of the extremeties. Special water-throwers shoot boiling water under pressure at the demonstrators, and those who do not submit are beaten with clubs with protruding nails, and they literally poison people to death with a highly concentrated tear gas. And the list of victims is steadily growing. According to PLO data, more than 660 Palestinians have died, not less than 40,000 have been injured, and 6,000 have been maimed on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip....

The extreme right Zionist circles demand that the Israeli Government drown the Palestinian rebellion in blood. But, despite the utter cruelty, it will not be possible to do this because the uprising is truly national, and it has a clear political direction. While the previous numerous demonstrations occurred mainly under the slogans of demands for a guarantee of economic and civil rights, today those in the uprising come out for a cessation of the occupation and for an independent Palestinian state. And this attests to a genuine revolution in the consciences of hundreds of thousands.

In addition, the uprising is not occurring spontaneously—it has a united national leadership, with participation by various detachments of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The PLO enjoys tremendous authority and virtually the universal support of the population.

All of this determines the exceptional steadfastness of the uprising participants which, in turn, has brought the question of the violation of Palestinian rights, critical in the complicated and entangled Middle East conflict, to

the center of world attention. Its just resolution is also being promoted by the constructive position of the Palestinians themselves, whose supreme legislative body—the National Council of Palestine—last year not only proclaimed the creation of an independent Palestinian state, but also recognized the UN Security Council's Resolution 242. And this document provides for both the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories and the recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of **each** state in the Middle East and their right to live in peace and security within recognized borders. Moreover, the PLO asserts its readiness for a dialogue with Israel, thereby showing itself to be a serious partner in peaceful negotiations.

This decision places the implacable position of Israel in an even more miserable light in the eyes of world public opinion and statesmen. Even its closest partner and benefactor—the U.S.—after soberly assessing the situation, thought it possible to start contacts with the PLO, with whom a second round of negotiations of representatives ended recently in Tunis. Practically all of the members of the international community are for convening an international conference under the aegis of the UN.

And only Israel is being obstinate, declaring through the words of its Prime Minister Shamir that "there will never be a Palestinian state on the land of Israel," and that his government will not submit to pressure from outside on this question. Perhaps Shamir is overestimating his strength, although he does enjoy the strong support of those on the right. Nonetheless, the government is also feeling the pressure from inside the country more and more.

It is not only the demonstrations by those Israelites, like the participants in the "Peace—Today" movement and the "Yesh Gvul" organization, in which soldiers participate who refuse to serve in the occupied territories, who protest against the "slaughters" in the occupied Arab lands. It is not only the sharp criticism of those on the left in the Knesset (parliament), but also the frank speeches for a dialogue with the PLO by two ministers of the government (true, there are 26 ministers all told), and even the conclusions of a report of the intelligence service of the country, which became a sensation in Israel, that called on the government to conduct negotiations with the PLO, warning that there is no other alternative. But such information simply does not get into the press—there are certain forces behind this.

No, by showing stiff resistance to the occupiers, the Palestinians are not spilling their blood in vain! Their uprising not only shows the need for an urgent, all-embracing, and just settlement in the Middle East, but it also motivates politicians to take specific actions to achieve this. And these actions are becoming more and more energetic.

...For thousands of years, the ancient land of Palestine was the mother and provider for the people living in it. To return a just peace to this land means not only to defend it, but also to guarantee all of its children the right to exist.

Cooperative Offers Business 'Representations'

TA1104185989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Unattributed "Announcement"]

[Text] To our listeners in Israel: This is a new component in our program which, in our opinion, may interest Israeli business circles that would like, despite the absence of diplomatic relations between our countries, to launch a mutually lucrative cooperation with Soviet organizations, plants, and cooperatives specializing in foreign trade.

We therefore request all our listeners to tell their friends and acquaintances in the business world of the following news. We hereby announce that the Moscow-based Cooperative Belka, which has representations in many parts of the Soviet Union, offers foreign companies assistance in attaining business ties with Soviet foreign trade organizations and cooperatives. Furthermore, when such ties are established the Cooperative Belka can represent small- and medium-sized companies in the Soviet Union because not every company can open representations, which cost a considerable amount for maintenance, in either Moscow or other Soviet cities.

Cooperative Belka is willing to undertake all types of orders or requests of overseas businessmen. In addition, the cooperative will be happy to discuss any proposals of foreign companies with regards to leases.

Cooperative Belka can be contacted through us, that is through our Peace and Progress broadcasting station, or directly at the following address: zipcode 140160 Zhukovski, Moscow District, Belka Cooperative; Telephone 2312880; Telex 412572 BELKA-SU. I repeat: zipcode 140160 Zhukovski, Moscow District, Belka Cooperative; Telephone 2312880; Telex 412572 BELKA-SU.

To guarantee the reception of your cooperation requests, we suggest that these be sent both to the Peace and Progress broadcasting station and to Cooperative Belka, by either mail or telex. The cooperative is expecting your letters, phone calls, and telexes. We can assure you that cooperation with Belka will be interesting and productive.

'Occupied' Land Issue Blocks Iran-Iraq Talks

NC0404163989 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Part one of station commentary]

[Text] A report from New York indicates that preparatory contacts for the fourth round of the direct Iran-Iraq talks are under way there. Our commentator writes on this:

Since the cease-fire declaration on 20 August last year, three rounds of peace talks have been held. Nevertheless, no serious progress toward a final solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict has been made. The relations between the two countries today are in a stage of neither war nor peace. On the one hand, both Baghdad and Tehran realize that the resumption of war operations is unacceptable, and on the other hand, both countries are obstinately refraining from granting any concession to each other. As a result, the process of finding a peaceful solution to the conflict is facing numerous problems.

We recall that the fourth round of the Iran-Iraq talks should have taken place in January. However, at that time the two sides were unable to achieve the necessary agreement, and the talks did not take place. The unexpected visit to Tehran and Baghdad by Jan Eliasson, the UN secretary general's special envoy, was aimed at solving existing differences. Apparently Eliasson was able to find a way out of the deadlock in Iran-Iraq relations, because both governments have expressed their readiness to continue the talks.

What are the major problems that Iran and Iraq should solve during the fourth round of talks? The issue pertaining to the occupied territories is one of the major obstacles to a peaceful solution of the conflict. We know that Iraqi forces now, like in the past, have about 1,000 square km of Iranian territory in their hands. Moreover, according to Iranian officials, Iraq is exploiting the natural resources in the occupied territories, namely the oil resources in Saft Shahr, [name indistinct], and (Tala'iyeh).

In Iran's opinion, UN Security Council Resolution 598 dictates the immediate withdrawal of forces to recognized borders after the cease-fire. Tehran alleges that, after the cease-fire, Iran withdrew its military units from an area of more than 3,000 square km of Iraqi territory. However, Baghdad is not hurrying to follow Iran's example. The Iraqi Government believes that the cease-fire agreement has not yet been fully implemented. In Iraq's opinion, Iran is not ready to fully observe this agreement on land and in the sea and air. Meanwhile, Baghdad propounds that Iran is insisting on its right to detain and inspect ships on their way to Iraq via the Persian Gulf. Tehran states that it has this right as long as the peace agreement has not been signed; Iraq considers this stand by Iran as an incomplete observance of the cease-fire and thus refuses to withdraw from occupied Iranian territory.

Dear listeners, as you can see, the issue of the occupied territories has become the main obstacle blocking the normalization of Iran-Iraq relations. At any rate, this is the view and opinion of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati who made a statement recently and said: We are facing a deadlock in the talks. However, if Iraq fully withdraws its armed forces from our territories, a way out of this deadlock can be found.

Baghdad in turn condemns Iran for prolonging the peace talks and entertaining the idea of achieving its goals. Meanwhile, according to Iranian and Iraqi representatives, it is impossible for the war operations between the two countries to resume.

Our commentator then writes: Apparently the issue of the occupied territories, in whatever form it may be, will be solved through talks, and this issue will be the center of attention in the fourth round of the Iran-Iraq talks. It is clear to everyone that a comprehensive solution of the existing problems between Iran and Iraq is not a simple task. The absence of a vanquished party, the existence of ideological irreconciliability in the two countries' relations, and the two sides' different interpretations of UN Security Council Resolution 598 have led to the strong contradictions in the talks.

The deterioration of Iran-Iraq relations can naturally not be overcome in 1 day. In order to reach an agreement, it is necessary for both countries to display political flexibility and a readiness to compromise. However, the liberation of the territories occupied during the war is one of the major and definite calls of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

The Soviet Government, which supports this stand as far as Iran-Iraq relations are concerned, has repeatedly stated that relations between these two countries should be on the basis of respect for the territorial integrity of the two sides.

Dear listeners, it should be stated that it is not only the issue of occupied territories that is preventing a successful end to the Iran-Iraq talks. The issue of internationally recognized borders has also become an obstacle hindering the peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq conflicts. We will discuss this in our program tomorrow which you can hear at this same time.

Belgorod Oblast Chief Leads Delegation to Syria

PM1104110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] Damascus, 7 Apr—A delegation of CPSU officials headed by A.F. Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Oblast Committee, visited the Syrian Arab Republic 31 March-7 April.

Members of the delegation were received by A. al-Ahmar, deputy secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; A. Dirgham, member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; and Y. al-Ahmad, Syrian minister of transport, and met a number of senior party officials. The guests were acquainted with the work of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party in the economy.

In the course of their stay in Syria a plan for ties between the CPSU and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party for 1989-1990 was signed. It provides for the further development of cooperation between the two parties in various spheres and a consolidation of existing experience, and outlines new horizons for interparty exchanges. Specifically, delegations are to be exchanged, assistance is to be given to the Syrian side in the training of party cadres, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party aktiv is to be briefed on the process of restructuring which is under way in the Soviet Union, and there is to be a quest for effective new forms of party cooperation.

The sides noted that another important step in expanding mutual ties has been taken. This is of fundamental importance for strengthening friendship between the two countries and peoples.

On 7 April the delegation of CPSU party officials headed by A.F. Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Oblast Committee, returned to Moscow from the visit to the Syrian Arab Republic at the invitation of the Syrian Socialist Ba'th Party.

Delegation Continues Visit to Morocco

18070198 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[Text] Rabat 4 April TASS—A CPSU delegation headed by L. N. Spiridonov, CPSU Central Committee candidate member and first deputy editor in chief of the newspaper PRAVDA, which is in Morocco, met with the leaders of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, Istiqlal, the Party for Progress and Socialism, and the Constitutional Union parties.

The Moroccan representatives told of the great interest on the part of the Moroccan public in the restructuring that is taking place in the Soviet Union. They noted the positive role of the USSR foreign political initiatives and the new political thinking in solving both global and regional problems, including in North Africa.

During the course of the meeting they expressed their mutual desire to further expand Soviet-Moroccan relations, including socio-political ties.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin on Tripartite Commission Session

LD1104211189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Our special correspondent Aleksey Sokolov has just returned to Luanda from Namibia. This is what he told us over the telephone: In the little town of Mount Etjo approximately 100 km from Windhoek, an extraordinary session of the joint commission for observation of the settlement in the southwest of Africa has taken place. I will remind you that it includes representatives of Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and, acting as observers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The carrying out of UN Security Council Resolution No 435 regarding the granting of independence to Namibia, the entire process of a settlement in the southwest of Africa, is under threat. Two days of intense work are over. What are the results of the session? This is what Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, head of the Soviet delegation, had to say in a special interview for all-Union Radio, before taking off from Windhoek.

[Begin Adamishin recording] In my evaluation, serious steps forward have been made toward settlement. However, as a result of armed incidents in the north of the country, the brakes have in fact been applied to this process. The recommendations adopted at the extraordinary session of the commission provide the opportunity to find a way out of the situation which is to the liking of all the sides. That is naturally a good solution. I would like to stress that it is to a considerable extent based on the one-sided statement made by the leaders of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] back on 8 April regarding the fact that they would give their troops orders to cease fire and withdraw outside the bounds of Namibian territory.

The events that occurred in these days were undoubtedly unpleasant. Quite a few people perished, and naturally this evokes concern as well and a feeling of grief. If one manages to get over this crisis—and I think it will be managed—there will at least be one positive side to it: the fact that the process of settlement in the southwest of Africa has revealed its stability. that a striving to find a way out of the situation, to continue the process of carrying out Resolution 435, prevailed on all the sides. [end recording]

Efforts for Namibian Peace Reviewed

PM1004115389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Roundup by A. Nikanorov in Moscow and N. Pavlov in Luanda: "Namibia: Decisive Moment"]

[Text] The ultimatum set by Pretoria that the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] partisans on Namibian territory should either disarm and surrender to the occupation authorities or cross the Angola-Namibia border ran out at midday on Saturday. If it is not complied with, South Africa [RSA] will use all the forces and means at its disposal.

As our special correspondent in Windhoek has already stated in a previous issue of IZVESTIYA, an emergency session of the tripartite commission (Angola, Cuba, and the RSA) to oversee the fulfillment of the agreements on a peaceful settlement in South-West Africa signed last December began on the outskirts of Namibia's administrative center Saturday [8 Apr]. These agreements envisage the decolonization of Africa's last colony, the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola,

and the end of Pretoria's support for the antigovernment UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] grouping in Angola. The agreements were worked out with the active participation of the Soviet Union and the United States. A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and C. Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, have been taking part in the current session. It aim is to find a way out of the deadlock created by the resumption of armed clashes between SWAPO detachments and the Namibian territorial police forces strongly supported by RSA regulars.

On the eve of the meeting J.E. dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party and Angolan president, received A.L. Adamishin in Luanda.

TASS reports that opinions were exchanged on questions of normalizing the situation in northern Namibia and that Soviet and Angolan viewpoints on ways of settling the prevailing explosive situation coincided. The importance of constructive efforts by the United Nations and "frontline" states aimed at overcoming difficulties and decolonizing Namibia on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435 was noted. It was stressed that the USSR and Angola resolutely advocate an immediate and unconditional cease-fire, the normalization of the settlement process in South-West Africa, and the strict observance of previous agreements on this problem.

The UN secretary general has made new proposals on accelerating the ending of armed clashes in northern Namibia. These involve the speedy deployment of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) forces—only one-fourth of the assigned contingent is currently in place—in the border zone between Namibia and Angola in order to separate the opposing sides. The next stage envisages the regrouping of SWAPO partisans under "blue beret" control in the centers set aside for this purpose, and the simultaneous return of RSA troops to their barracks. The Security Council wholly and fully supports these proposals.

A conference of heads of the "frontline" states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) with the participation of the chairmen of SWAPO and the RSA's African National Congress ended in Luanda yesterday. It expressed the intention that each of these countries would send a battalion of volunteers to Namibia. As Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the group of "frontline" states, noted, these troops will be under UNTAG jurisdiction. They are intended to promote the fulfillment of its tasks and are in no circumstances meant to support SWAPO fighters, as certain Western news agencies have been indicating erroneously or deliberately. Kaunda made it clear that the "frontline" states' proposal had been passed on to the UN secretary general via M. Goulding, his deputy for special political issues, who was in Luanda to maintain working contacts with the Angolan and SWAPO leaderships. The Zambian president expressed the hope that the UN Security Council would treat the "border" states' initiative with all seriousness.

International observers are drawing attention to AFP reports from Luanda that the "frontline" state leaders were at first not officially condemned by the RSA. There was no communique after the summit, AFP continues, but in a brief conversation with journalists Kenneth Kaunda simply reaffirmed that the six states intend to continue to support the Namibian decolonization process and the UNTAG forces, and to ensure that SWAPO fighters stay alive.

The process of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 435 has been halted, and the general elections in Namibia scheduled for this November have been postponed. This was noted in a statement issued in Windhoek by Louis Pienaar, RSA administrator general in Namibia. He claimed that the reason lies in the "continuing incursions into Namibia from Angola of members of SWAPO's military wing." "We will not react to every statement from Windhoek. This would not be sensible at this stage," Francois Giuliani, the UN secretary general's official representative, told journalists in a comment on L. Pienaar's statement. This was reported by TASS correspondents from Harare and New York.

The readiness to settle the exacerbated situation in South-West Africa—a readiness for which the entire world community is calling—will be judged on the results of the Windhoek emergency session. It is not known how long it will last.

East Europe

Hungary's Grosz, Nemeth Receive Lushev, Lobov

LD0804073789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, 8 Apr (TASS)—K. Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], and M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, today received Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense and commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army Gen V.N. Lobov, chief-of-staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, who are in Hungary.

Hungary's Straub Arrives in Moscow 9 Apr

LD0904104589 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—Academician Bruno Ferencz Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, arrived in Moscow today for a visit to the Biological Research Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Met by Menteshashvili, Makarov

LD0904171189 Budapest MTI in English 1500 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, April 9 (MTI)—Academician F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, arrived in Moscow on Sunday with the purpose of visiting the Biological Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. On his private visit, the Hungarian scientist-statesman is accompanied by his wife, Academician Gertrud Szabolcsi.

At the Moscow railway station, Mr Straub met Tengez Menteshashvili, secretary of the Supreme Soviet, and I. Makarov, scientific general secretary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

MSZMP's Grosz Interviewed on Hungarian Reforms

LD0804145989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0815 GMT 8 Apr 89

[From the "Countries of Socialism" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin, including interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], in Moscow by Korzin; date not given—recorded; Korzin speaks in interview in English, Grosz in Hungarian, with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpt] Hello there, comrades. It's Saturday, and we meet again, as usual on this day, to talk about the life and activities of the socialist countries. In previous programs we have dealt on more than one occasion with the situation in Hungary, and this is altogether natural because events there are developing rapidly and a very dynamic process of reforms is under way in both the political and economic spheres. The introduction of a multiparty system, deep reforms in economic management, a reassessment of many accepted ideas, new approaches to the construction of socialism—all this, of course, prompts many people to ask: Whither Hungary?

It is no idle question. We are today, perhaps more than ever before, following with particular attention the development of events in the socialist countries, and, whether we want to or not, we find ourselves working out how their experience would fit us. The socialist community today can be perfectly accurately compared to a collective laboratory where fundamentally new ideas are being tested. Naturally, each state has its own conditions and traditions, and, ultimately, its own past and present, but taking a general view we have all now come up against effectively similar problems. The origins of these problems are also similar. They are rooted in voluntarist methods of exercising power, longstanding adherence to ossified dogmas, and the administrative-command system of management. Much is now changing literally before our very eyes. And Hungary is one of the countries where reforms are particularly in evidence.

You will know, of course, that Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, recently paid a brief visit to our country. He was elected to this post comparatively recently—less than a year ago. But the present radical reforms are, above all, being linked to his coming to office. I think that it will therefore be interesting for you to see a short interview with Karoly Grosz given by him before he flew out of Moscow.

[Begin recording] [Korzin] Comrade Grosz, what do you see as the main element of the reforms currently under way in Hungary?

[Grosz] It is very difficult to reply to that question in just one sentence, in view of the fact that the reform process is a very complex phenomenon. But I consider stability to be the main thing. I think political and economic reform can only be pursued dynamically if the political system in Hungary remains firm and if all new initiatives in Hungary serve not extremes but the cause of progress.

[Korzin] The world is generally taking a positive view of the democratic reforms taking place in your country. Nevertheless, the following point of view can also be encountered: Won't these reforms at some point lead to chaos and anarchy? Are there any guarantees that this won't happen?

[Grosz] The Hungarian people themselves are the guarantee. This is because the Hungarian people have a vital interest in having an opportunity to implement fine programs in conditions of peace and a normal life. The fact that the European region would have difficulty in enduring a state of anarchy in any country could also be cited as a guarantee.

Thus the international situation and international processes are currently prompting the thought more and more that renewal and the development of democracy in politics and the economy should be free of extremes. Consequently, my assessment is that the domestic and international situation creates favorable conditions for ensuring that the process of renewal proceeds without anarchy. In exactly the same way I would like to say that when large-scale reforms are being implemented it is practically unavoidable that there will be phenomena whereby certain byproducts—a kind of dross—form on the surface. I refer to undesirable phenomena that do not accord with our intentions or desires. After a certain period of time passions will subside, a new consensus will come about, and political harmony will reestablish itself. This is because there are few in Hungary whose interests are opposed to this.

[Korzin] According to certain estimates, the rate of economic growth this year will be close to nil, or at least fairly low. What enables you to take an optimistic view of the future despite this?

[Grosz] The growth target is about zero or 1 percent, which effectively means stagnation. Why is this planned? Because considerable proportions of the resources being released are to go toward meeting debts that have accumulated in the area of capital investments. On the other hand, when structural reform is underway, growth is not necessarily a positive thing in practice. We know of may examples of this in the history of the Hungarian economy. They have not brought about any substantial success. However, this temporary situation might exist for a year or two, three at the maximum, but it won't on any account be a lengthy period. In the development of the economy, zero growth is unacceptable for a lengthy period. We shall only be able to put an end to debt in the economy and achieve the creation of new reserves and growth in the standard of living—even a modest growth, let alone a rapid one—if the overall growth of our economy is 3 or 4 percent over the long term. We regard today's situation as temporary. It won't last long, and we believe that in 2 or 3 years, that is somewhere in the 1990-92 period, the economic upturn will develop gradually, but with increasing dynamism.

[Korzin] Recently Comrade Pozsgay recalled, referring to himself, an expression used by Admiral Nelson: If my hair knew what I was thinking, I would shave it off.' As general secretary, do you know what Comrade Pozsgay and other members of the party leadership are thinking, and is there unity among you in your assessments of the reforms taking place?

[Grosz] I don't know. I am not a fortune-teller, after all. And I don't have the time to solve such riddles. I know only their statements and actions, I can say that they are all seeking the most acceptable solutions. They are pursuing a passionate search with good intentions for what would seem to be unusual alternatives that can, in the final analysis, lead to general progress. As far as the fact that arguments—indeed, heated arguments—are underway in the party, I consider this neither a shortcoming nor an unacceptable phenomenon, but a very desirable fact. And I am convinced that frank discussions are needed in the course of which the correct answers can be crystallized to questions regarding the complex situation that has arisen in Hungary. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Outcome of Polish 'Roundtable' Talks Assessed

Results Outlined

PM1004100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Second Edition p 7

[Correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: "Agreement Reached. 'Roundtable' in Poland Over"]

[Text] Warsaw—For the past 8 and ½ weeks the Polish public has been following with great attention and even excitement the gradual, step-by-step movement made by the participants in this unprecedented dialogue—representatives of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the National Trade Union Alliance, the illegal trade union "Solidarity," the church, and eminent public figures and politicians—toward the elaboration of a national agreement based on a pluralist approach to resolution of all the country's problems. The "roundtable" was cochaired by Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, for the coalition government side; and by "Solidarity" leader L. Walesa for the opposition.

The "roundtable" was meant to provide answers to many unresolved issues of profound concern to Poland.

And now the meeting is over. At the final session C. Kiszczak, Polish minister of internal affairs, said:

"Through joint efforts we have mapped out a model for a future sociopolitical system based on civic responsibility—a socialist parliamentary democracy. An agreement on the question of strengthening the new, reformed economic system has also been drawn up. Pledges relating to the multilateral resolution of disputes and social conflicts have been made. The image of the Polish trade union movement stood out behind the 'roundtable.'"

What changes to the country's political life are expected? A new house—the Senate—is being set up in the Polish Sejm. The principles governing the relationship between the three ruling parties in the leadership are being reviewed. Opposition representatives and nonparty people will receive mandates to the Senate as a result of elections to be held in June. The plan is to develop the status of the country's president and provide the position with sweeping powers, up to and including the right to dissolve the Sejm.

The position on socioeconomic policy and the reforms is as follows: to improve supplies to the market, enhance the population's living conditions, and switch some of the defense industry to consumer goods production (consumer goods worth 110 billion zlotys will be produced in the current year). Plans have also been made to balance the state budget within 2-3 years, introduce a strict thrift regime in the sphere of spending, and halt inflation. Moreover, as of next year, the practice of "printing money" to pay for state spending is to be prohibited. In this regard the need to switch the entire economy, including food production, to market principles has been recognized. Striving to protect the population from the consequences of inflation and an unbalanced economy, the government is introducing a mechanism for indexing wages and other remuneration—something akin to a cost-of-living index.

And, finally, the trade unions. It has been decided to give workers the right to join whichever trade unions they wish and to create the conditions for the independent self-governed "Solidarity" trade union and other movements to conduct legal activity. The equality of all trade union organizations has been recognized.

That is a general outline of the results of the 2-month "marathon" comprehensive national "roundtable" talks in Poland. Their participants are already warning that the "roundtable" is not a miracle cure for all social ills. Only work—the selfless work of everyone—and constant concern for the fatherland's destiny will produce the desired results in the future.

PZPR Officials Defend 'Concessions'

PM1004122189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Apr 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS political observer A. Kondrashov article for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Priorities of Trust. 'Roundtable' Talks Have Ended in Poland"]

[Excerpts] The handshake between General Czeslaw Kiszczak, Polish minister of internal affairs, and "Solidarity" leader Lech Walesa after the signing of the final document of the "roundtable" talks, in addition to being symbolic, can also be described as historic. This document is the result not just of the 2 months of talks between representatives of the government coalition and the opposition forces, but of Poland's entire stormy and contradictory development over the past decade. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that the concessions and compromises made by the Polish leadership are considerable. It is therefore no accident that certain circles in the party remain critical of the "roundtable." At the same time, these concessions do not call into question the socialist nature of the country, or the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. And this, in turn, is evoking the dissatisfaction of the extremist section of the opposition, which is accusing Walesa and his entourage of allegedly having sold out to the authorities.

"True, we are being criticized for making excessive concessions to the opposition," Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee has said. "We ourselves are perfectly well aware that political pluralism is fraught with a considerable risk. Therefore, in drafting our concept, we have devised a comprehensive system of guarantees to ensure that even under the worst-case scenarios of development, our country does not lose its socialist character. These include, first, the retention by the PZPR of a minimum of one-third of Sejm votes to prevent changes in the Constitution. An additional guarantee is the post of the president. And finally, there are the Polish Armed Forces, our socialist army whose prestige among the people is invariably high and in which they trust. However, building lines of defense is not the main point. We see pluralism as a means of shaking up and revitalizing the party and restoring the skills of political struggle that were largely lost during the monopoly of power. Our positions and arguments are stronger, but despite this, communists frequently lose to the opposition in discussions in front of the microphone."

What course will events in Poland take in the near future? Will the "roundtable" produce the much sought-after social stability needed to implement the package of large-scale economic reforms? At the moment no one is able to answer this question accurately. This is because the change of the economy to a market footing is fraught with further price increases and an inevitable deterioration of the living standards of certain sections of the population. It is no accident that the leadership of the official trade unions—OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] has taken up a negative stance with regard to the plans outlined by the government and the opposition for compensating price increases, regarding them as insufficient. However, unfortunately, it is not possible at the moment to suggest another way to stabilize the Polish economy, which is suffering from low production efficiency and unending labor conflicts and is weighed down by its 40-billion debt to the West. The experience of past years indicates that in order to rectify the situation, resolute, cardinal reforms rather than half-hearted measures are necessary.

Having painted this not exactly rosy picture of Polish reality, I would, nonetheless, like to conclude this article with the words of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. Answering our question as to how he pictures Poland in 5 years' time, the head of government said confidently: "There is a real chance that the power of the communists in Poland will be consolidated. We are now ridding ourselves of dogmas and stereotypes, of everything that fettered and held us back. Yes, there will be a coalition government in Poland in 5 years' time, and a parliamentary opposition, and possibly even rival parties, but left-wing forces will unquestionably predominate. This is because our causes, positions, and arguments are much more convincing than those of our opponents."

'Mutual Goodwill' Welcomed

PM1104080189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Compromise Lesson; Roundtable Meeting Has Ended in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw—Will Poland be different from now on? I think few people doubt this now, if only because it has been possible to get together and conduct an open conversation on the most burning topics. Poland, strictly speaking, changed from that memorable day, 6 February, when an unprecedented political marathon began in the palace on Krakowskie Przedmiescie, thus providing yet one more proof of the groundlessness of the myth that, allegedly, socialism cannot be renewed.

Debates in the roundtable's working groups and subgroups went on for 2 months. Representatives of the most diverse public forces came to an agreement on a number of the most important questions concerning Poland's future. These accords were approved at the

11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, held the other day. The roundtable's concluding plenary session opened 5 April.

So, the opposition's participation in the country's official political life has become a fact. This, undoubtedly, is the most basic change that has occurred in society in recent months. It signifies the gradual implementation of the PZPR's policy, directed at national accord and reform and the further democratization of all spheres of life. One of the roundtable's significant results will be the legalization of "Solidarity," which is to have an exclusively trade union role.

As Polish newspapers stress, without the reforms the PZPR has been persistently carrying out over the last 8 years in coalition with the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party, without bold ideas and openness on its side, dialogue with the opposition would not have been possible. Nor would it have been possible without the political will that finally began to be demonstrated in the middle of last year by the opposition and its realistically minded circles, expressing willingness to be guided in their activity by respect for constitutional norms. The church also contributed to the creation of the favorable atmosphere that helped the talks. Now there is no doubt that the PZPR's historic 10th plenum, whose innovative decisions created a new political situation in Poland, completed the picture.

Who makes compromises in what area, and at what price the compromise is reached—is this really the crux of the matter? The main point is that mutual goodwill has been demonstrated, and that an agreement has been reached jointly to make radical progress in politics, economics, and the social sphere.

Passions were still seething in groups and subgroups when the Sejm began examining the draft laws that are so important for the people's future and that are intended to introduce a new political-economic order in Poland. The laws had been discussed at the roundtable sessions: the amendment of the Polish Constitution and the establishment of a second parliamentary chamber, the Senate, and also the post of Republic president; the organization of elections to the Sejm and the Senate; public organizations, amendments to the law on trade unions, and the individual peasants' trade union. That is, quite specific steps were taken to further deepen reforms. With the introduction of the post of president, who is granted broad powers, the Polish State Council now in operation will be abolished. The opposition is being included in the political system. Its representatives will take their place in the parliament where, incidentally, the PZPR will no longer have a majority.

From now on public energy will not be wasted on exhausting conflicts and quarrels that no one needs, but must be directed at solving jointly problems that concern everyone, at giving freer rein to citizens' initiatives. And here the question arises about joint responsibility for matters in society. The opposition has ended up in a role that is new to it, a role that is, moreover, quite difficult psychologically. Until now its main strength was negation, opposition to the system, and criticism of everything. Now, in functioning legally, it must clearly formulate its program, produce specific ideas, be visible to everyone, and, consequently, be the object of assessment and criticism. It is one thing to be able to wreck things, incite people to strike, and hinder reforms, and quite another to create and assist positive processes within the framework of common responsibility.

Is the opposition disposed to contribute its share of responsibility to cooperation? There is no clear answer, unfortunately, to this question. Speaking recently at a press conference, Z. Bujak answered as follows a question about whether the opposition would work as part of the government or in coalition with it: "No, we shall be a classic opposition. We shall enter the Senate to assess the activity of the government and its organs." The official trade unions were difficult partners at the roundtable. It was they who on the eve of the last plenary session whipped up the already difficult situation at the talks, putting forward an unrealistic demand for indexation (that is, the adjustment of wages to inflation and price increases) so that even the worldly-wise "Solidarity" was greatly surprised.

Prudence gained the upper hand over everything. On 5 April, late in the evening, at the concluding roundtable session at which C. Kiszczak, L. Walesa, and a number of other people spoke, the so-called "public treaty" was symbolically adopted. The corresponding agreement was signed in three basic working groups, because there remain many questions on which positions differ, and a conciliation commission has been set up to continue the work. The Sejm is carrying on the roundtable's work: It must approve the package of basic laws.

So, a fundamentally new page has been opened in Poland's development as a state of socialist parliamentary democracy, a society based on political and trade union pluralism.

Sejm Adopts Reform Laws

PM1004121589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Polish Sejm Has Adopted New Laws"]

[Text] Warsaw—Political events have moved from Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street, where the "roundtable" sessions have lasted 2 months in the government palace, to another equally well-known street in the Polish capital, Wiejska Street—to the Polish Sejm building.

What was yesterday the topic of heated debate among representatives of the country's various social forces is now the number one topic for debate by deputies. Opening a routine session of the Sejm 7 April, R.

Malinowski announced the following agenda: d.aft laws on changes to the Polish Constitution, on a statute on elections to the Sejm and Senate—a second parliamentary chamber, and on public organizations; amendments to the law on trade unions; and draft laws on a trade union for individual peasant farmers.

What has provoked the changes in the Republic's Constitution and what are these changes to be? Deputy T. Szelachowski, who is in charge of the special commission covering the first draft law, said that the last 40 years have shown that the current model of exercising power has not justified the public's expectations and hopes. The numerous constitutional amendments that have been made were no more than cosmetic. The new text of the fundamental law is a thing of the future. However, life now dictates that fundamental changes be made to the existing Constitution. They first concern establishment of the post of president to embody Poland's grandeur and dignity, act as a stabilizing factor, and guarantee the durability and irreversibility of the democratic changes. Creating a second parliamentary chamber—a Senate—should help put the legislative process beyond reproach. Last, a more democratic electoral law than the present law is needed to broaden opportunities for citizens to be elected deputies and senators.

The draft statute on elections to the Sejm and the Senate attracted great attention from the Polish public. Comments and proposals from citizens and also from participants in the "roundtable" and specialists were taken into consideration when working on these statutes. The elections will be equal, direct, and secret. Candidate deputies can be nominated not only by public and trade union organizations, but also by groups of citizens; nomination requires 3,000 signatures in a given electoral district. An unlimited number of candidates can be proposed for each seat. The possibility of convening and holding meetings for citizens without any restrictions is guaranteed within the election campaign.

It was pointed out at the session that a society based on socialist parliamentary democracy, the Poland of the future—a civil, pluralist society—is impossible without citizens' right of freedom to associate in most varied organizations and unions. The new law on public organizations gives everyone this right regardless of his political orientation, views, or individual interests. The only thing necessary to register a society is for it to have a statute.

As for the law on trade unions, the main amendment to it envisages several trade unions, including the legalized "Solidarity," operating at an enterprise rather than just a single trade union.

The Sejm deputies voted by an overwhelming majority to accept the package of new laws, which are beginning to work to further develop and improve the socialist state and change the current sociopolitical system.

The speech by R. Bender, a Catholic from Lublin, sounded strangely dissonant against the backdrop of debates on the "roundtable" and the draft laws of fundamental importance for the Republic, which are notable for their diverse opinions and standpoints. He stated that the post of president of the Rzeczpospolita [the Republic], rather than president of the Polish People's Republic, should be introduced, as was the case before the war. He also said that the concept of the Polish People's Republic should be renounced all together. Deputies did not support either of these proposals.

The present Sejm concludes its activity 3 June. Elections to be held in a completely new political atmosphere on the basis of the new democratic laws lie in store for the country.

Katushev Meets CSSR Trade Minister in Moscow

LD0804153789 Prague CTK in English 1146 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba and his Soviet counterpart Konstantin Katushev discussed here today development and further improvement of trade and economic relations of their countries this year and by the end of the five-year plan period (1986-1990).

They also considered possibilities of application of progressive forms of economic cooperation.

GDR, USSR Culture Ministers Hold Talks

AU0604134789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Apr 89 p 5

[Text] Moscow—The GDR and USSR culture ministers, Hans-Joachim Boehme and Vasiliy Zakharov, met in Moscow on Tuesday [4 April] to exchange opinions on a long-term program for cultural cooperation between the two countries. The forthcoming Cultural Days of the GDR in the USSR and the Soviet Cultural Days in the GDR will further strengthen the friendly relations between the GDR and the USSR.

In a ceremony at the GDR Embassy in Moscow, Minister Hoffmann presented to the Soviet culture minister a new documentary by the German Film Corporation entitled "I, Son of the German People, Swear...." The film is to be given to the Museum of German Antifascists in Krasnogorsk near Moscow. The film carries interviews with antifascists whose work has been closely related with the foundation and the activities of the Free Germany National Committee, including founding members Heinz Kessler, Heinrich Homann, and Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel.

Tolstykh, Marchuk Receive Romanian Academic

AU3103184989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 31 Mar 89

["Romanian-Soviet Talks on Technical and Scientific Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 31/03/1989—Moscow was the venue of interviews between Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology of Romania, and executives of the State Committee for Science and Technology and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

On the occasion, cordial greetings were exchanged between Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.S.C., first deputy prime minister of Romania, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, and Boris Tolstykh, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, and Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

In line with the decisions reached during the Romanian-Soviet summit in October 1988, the stage and results of technical and scientific collaboration between the two countries were examined and joint measures were agreed upon to further intensify that activity, to boost efficiency and develop specialization of and cooperation in production on the basis of the use of the gains of the technical and scientific results scored by concerted efforts.

Academician Ion Ursu also had interviews at the headquarters of Soviet research institutes in Moscow with Academician A.M. Prokhorov, member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, a Nobel Prize laureate, director of the Institute of General Physics of that Academy, with other Soviet men of science and experts.

West Europe

Gorbachev Holds Talks With FRG SPD's Vogel

Disarmament, Restructuring Discussed

PM1204094389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 89 Second Edition pp 1,3

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting with H.J. Vogel"]

[Text] A meeting took place 11 April in the CPSU Central Committee between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Hans Jochen Vogel, chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party [SPD], who was accompanied by Herta Daeubler-Gmelin, deputy chairman of the SPD; Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium; and Karsten Voigt and Dietrich Stobbe, members of the SPD Executive.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev started the conversation by noting that the opening of offices of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Moscow is a new and symbolic event in relations between the parties, which have progressed a long way—from the first contacts on issues concerning the postwar settlement, to issues that were exclusively international, to the present conditions where there is now a comparison of ideas and where any problems can be and are discussed in an atmosphere of trust and a high degree of mutual understanding.

We also recall the contribution made by West German social democracy and its leader Willy Brandt to the normalization of relations between the two peoples following a war that brought them so many disasters, said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The conversation developed into a lively wide-ranging talk on a very varied range of themes of topical and general interest.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Hans Jochen Vogel briefed each other about their standpoints in the field of disarmament. They noted a great deal in common primarily concerning the elimination of nuclear arms and the reduction of the potentials of the two blocs to the level of the requirements for a nonoffensive doctrine. A commonality of positions was also evident in the negative attitude to any kind of modernization and compensations.

A large part of the conversation, which lasted more than 2 hours, was devoted to the problems of Europe and the common European home. Emphasis was laid on the significance of the Ostpolitik, and due tribute was paid to its authors and to the Moscow treaty, without which neither Helsinki, nor the disarmament talks, which are already producing results, would have been possible. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev again drew attention to the fact that he sees the construction of the European home, in which a joint European team must be involved, as the development of the Helsinki process to a new level that presupposes, in particular, an exchange not just of goods, but also of ideas. He considered it essential to recall once again that people in the USSR do not imagine any European peace process without the participation of the United States and Canada.

West Berlin was also spoken of as one of the apartments in the European home. Since the West is not at the moment prepared for a simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact—and their existence preserves the effect of military confrontation in Europe—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed the idea of the desirability of some form of politicization of relations between these organizations born of the cold war.

The problem of freedom of choice in the European process was also touched upon. No interference, and still less efforts to destabilize the situation in one country or another, is acceptable. The time has come to leave behind the confrontational principle, according to which

what is bad for one is good for the other and vice versa. In our times, if any of my neighbors suffers, then I suffer too. This is one of the postulates of the new thinking.

A considerable amount of time was devoted to restructuring in the USSR. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev talked in detail and frankly about the peculiarities, problems, and difficulties of the current transitional moment, about plans for the balanced and reliable development of the country, and about the drafting of a program to harmonize interethnic relations in the Soviet federated state. In connection with this, mention was made of the active participation of Soviet Germans in restructuring, and of the prospects for their full-bodied and equal development in the framework of one form of national autonomy or another.

Restructuring is a profound process. We have the capability to carry it through, said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The fundamental issue at the moment is the pace. We rule out cavalry charges and all kinds of sudden jolts that may jeopardize the whole affair. There is much in our lives now that is new and unfamiliar. There are many different events and phenomena that restructuring throws up at every step, a huge number of them. One could cook up any conclusions from them, including very pessimistic ones, but if you judge seriously, by the criteria of mainstream politics, the process is developing in the only possible direction. It is difficult, but it is going ahead. Painful moments are inevitable, just as an acute struggle sometimes is, but that is just what the revolutionary nature of the transformations is about. In the course of restructuring, people are quickly becoming smarter and are learning well. There are more and more examples of people working more effectively in the new way. People support restructuring and do not imagine any other path. The elections we held were, in essence, a referendum that gave us an irrefutable vote of confidence for a confident movement only forward.

M.S. Gorbachev drew attention to the resolve to defend restructuring, democracy itself, and glasnost from extremism, from anti-Soviet manifestations and destructive actions by adventurist elements through strengthening law and order, respecting the law, and consolidating all forces of restructuring in society; and through the integrating role of the party, from which a much higher standard of work is required under the conditions of the natural manifestation of centrifugal forces, which arise in connection with decentralization of management, with the broadening of the independence of public and economic units and the republics, and with the variety of forms of socialist ownership and with a pluralism of views.

The German partners in the conversation spoke about the enormous interest that has been aroused in the FRG by all that is happening in the USSR. This can be explained, Vogel said, by the increasingly growing understanding that the success of restructuring is in the common interests of both our countries, of Europe, and of the world as a whole.

Certain questions of Soviet-West German economic relations were thoroughly discussed. Here not all is proceeding smoothly and, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted, there is a certain hesitation among FRG business circles, which is clearly connected with doubts regarding the viability of restructuring, doubts that have been circulated in the West recently. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev took into consideration the SPD proposal regarding the program for his coming visit to the FRG. An exchange of views took place on possible joint measures within the framework of the international workers' movement on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Second Internationale and the 125th anniversary of the First Internationale.

M.S. Gorbachev and H.J. Vogel expressed their full satisfaction with the nature and the atmosphere of the meeting. It passed, it is possible to say, in harmony [na odnom dykhanii]. It was an amicable, open, free, and highly substantive conversation, which reflected both the dynamics and long-term nature of relations between the parties. It was agreed to single out specific tasks, which have arisen in the discussion, to study them in the course of further contacts.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev conveyed friendly greetings to Willy Brandt and other SPD leaders and also requested that all the numerous FRG citizens who are sending letters to him be told that he highly evaluates their solidarity and support in the enormous cause that has been unfolded in the USSR.

Yakovlev, Falin, and Chernyayev participated in the meeting. FRG Ambassador to the USSR Meyer-Landrut was also present.

Georgia, U.S. Arms Policy Discussed

LD1104132589 Hamburg DPA in German 1250 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has expressed his concern about the bloody events in Georgia. "The issue of power is no joking matter," Gorbachev said today, alluding to the increasingly strong efforts at autonomy in the USSR, during a meeting with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], in Moscow.

It is the duty of the state to ensure "the protection of glasnost and restructuring." Vogel said after the 2 and ½ hour talk that the general secretary showed his firm resolve to adhere unswervingly to his reform course. The principle of freedom of speech is inviolable: Everyone should have the opportunity to criticize.

According to Vogel, disarmament issues were discussed at length. In the talk he gained the impression that a third zero option for missiles would not founder on the USSR. The SPD's proposal for a gradual solution by lowering the upper limits of short-range missiles while temporarily maintaining the Lance missiles deployed in the Federal Republic were "noted kindly" by the Soviet side.

Gorbachev also announced that his country intends to maintain the disarmament initiative. Moscow is awaiting with interest the U.S replies to the Soviet proposals. The general secretary indicated "traces of impatience" during the talk on the future U.S. attitude. He furthermore made clear that the USSR, too, considers the Western and Eastern defense alliances necessary for the time being. No one should be interested in destabilization. No one is seeking to displace the United States from a future, common "European home."

During the talk, the SPD leader handed on a request from U.S. President George Bush, who asked him last week to raise in Moscow the subject of Soviet arms supplies to Central America. He understood Gorbachev to say that he will send a message to the United States concerning this issue.

Vogel thanked Gorbachev that the ethnic Germans living in the Soviet Union can now largely emigrate unhindered. The Soviet side promised that cultural autonomy would be improved for the ethnic Germans living in the USSR. The chances of giving them their own autonomous area were also being examined.

They also discussed Gorbachev's visit to Bonn in June. Vogel conveyed an invitation to him from the executive and works council of Hoesch AG to address the works' assembly in Dortmund. Gorbachev said he was dissatisfied with the development of economic relations between Bonn and Moscow, saying they were not developing as dynamically as hoped for.

The CPSU joint working group led by SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr and former Soviet Ambassador to Bonn Valentin Falin has been instructed to deal from now on with the greater involvement of Berlin in German-Soviet relations. The question of a possible visit by the mayor of Berlin, Walter Momper (SPD), to Moscow was touched upon in principle, but details were not discussed. This is to be done by the working group.

In Vogel's opinion, relations between the SPD and the CPSU, despite all the differences that continue to exist, have achieved a "new quality." The SPD leader presented Gorbachev with a Russian translation of the draft of a new SPD platform. After a first glimpse, the Kremlin leader said the topics listed were the same as those that interested people in the USSR.

Attending the talks on behalf of the SPD, apart from Vogel, were SPD Deputy Chairman Herta Daeubler-Gmelin and politicians Egon Bahr, Dietrich Stobbe, and Karsten Voigt. Apart from the party leader, the Soviet side was represented by Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, Falin, and Gorbachev's advisor Anatoliy Chernyayev. German Ambassador Andreas Meyer-Landrut was also present.

Because of a lack of time—apparently because of the Central Committee deliberations to find a solution to the crisis in Georgia—well-known industrialists who had accompanied Vogel to Moscow did not take part in the meeting with Gorbachev. The executive board chairmen, Heinze Ruhnau (Lufthansa), Detlev Rohwedder (Hoesch), Friedel Neuber (Westdeutsche Landesbank), and Thomas Wegscheider (Bank fuer Gemeinwirtschaft) and the works council chairmen of Volkswagon, Opel, and Bayer later met government head Nikolay Ryzhkov in the Kremlin. It was learned that Ruhnau is also conducting talks in Moscow on modernization of the Soviet capital's airport with German participation and on cooperation between his firm and the state company Aeroflot.

Vogel, who also talked with Gorbachev last year, left for home this evening.

Vogel Finds Visit 'Encouraging'

LD1104135289 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD), described his brief working visit to Moscow as an "important and encouraging stage on the long and sometimes rather difficult road of cooperation" between the SPD and the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU).

Hans-Jochen Vogel told reporters about his impressions of today's meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Vogel officially opened a permanent mission of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Moscow. He said this event illustrated the positive development of relations between the two parties.

"The fund's mission in Moscow is a bridge which can draw both sides closer together," Vogel said.

Answering reporters' questions, he explained the SPD's stand on a number of international issues. He confirmed his party's opposition to the idea of "modernising" NATO's tactical nuclear weapons and said that Social Democrats favour a reduction in the level of military confrontation.

Vogel called for an international peace conference on the Middle East and direct negotiations between the conflicting parties. In this connection, he welcomed moves by the U.S. Administration, which had established contact with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

On West German-Soviet relations, Vogel said that, in agreement with the SPD-led governments of six West German states, the Ebert Fund has proposed that the Soviet Union send 100 medium-level managers to West Germany to upgrade their skills.

The SPD chairman supported the idea of building a "European home" and said the European Communities are ready to cooperate with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Vogel told reporters about the talks he and representatives of West German political and business circles, who were accompanying him, had held with Soviet partners. He described these contacts as fruitful.

Vogel on Agreement on Tactical N-Arms

LD1104202589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Today at the main press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] of Germany, met with Soviet and foreign journalists. I will ask my colleague, Viktor Levin, to tell us about that news conference.

[Levin] The SPD delegation, headed by Hans-Jochen Vogel, is spending its third day in Moscow. The culmination of the visit was the discussion with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which took place in the first half of the day. At the press conference, Hans-Jochen Vogel recounted in detail what they talked about during that discussion and noted in particular the coincidence of positions of the CPSU and SPD on the question of tactical nuclear weapons. The chairman of the SPD twice repeated that in the event of a failure to reach a zero level of these weapons, it will not be the Soviet Union that is to blame.

I also recall the words of Hans-Jochen Vogel to the effect that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev described the elections of the USSR peoples' deputies as a referendum of support for restructuring and glasnost. The chairman of the SPD also said: The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, says Hans-Jochen Vogel, has noted that he receives many letters from the Federal Republic of Germany. In these letters great sympathy is expressed. He asked me when I could, and I am already doing it now, to thank the men and women who are citizens of the FRG, telling them that those letters are very important to him. In general, the entire visit and the discussion today were an important and reassuring stage in the lengthy way, which was frequently a complicated one in the past, of developing relations and cooperation between the SPD and the Soviet leadership.

Over the last few years relations with the SPD have indeed become markedly more active. This is reflected in the fact that over the past day a mission of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation has been opened in Moscow. This organization is engaged in the study of topical political and social and economic problems and is close to the SPD in its position.

Naturally, in many things the CPSU and SPD occupy different ideological positions. All the more interesting, I would say remarkable, is the following fact that Hans-Jochen Vogel mentioned at the press conference. He said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was handed a collection of materials on restructuring in the USSR which is intended as a handbook for SPD members. Karsten Voigt, one of the members of the SPD delegation, a member of the party's executive, presented a copy of this collection to me. I have managed to look through it and can say that the most important utterances of the leader are collected here on the most acute problems, on both domestic and foreign policy. The title of the collection reads "Gorbachev Is on the Way." There is hidden meaning in this. The fact is that for many years conservative circles in the FRG, scaring people with the Soviet threat, resorted to the assertion that the Russians were on their way. Now the SPD is showing that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is on his way with restructuring, with new political thinking, with a sincere desire to promote the consolidation of peace.

Vogel Departs Moscow for Home

LD1104202889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1703 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Apr (TASS)—Today Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, who has been in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee on a brief working visit, left the USSR.

Ryzhkov, FRG Businessmen View Reforms, Ties

LD1104191689 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met on Tuesday in the Kremlin with leaders of a number of West German firms and chairmen of production councils of enterprises.

Interlocutors from the FRG showed much interest in questions of the USSR's socioeconomic development, in the course of perestroyka in every area of the life of Soviet society.

Appraising the situation in the country, the work for the deepening and intensification of perestroyka processes, Ryzhkov dwelt on the main tasks of Soviet society on whose solution the pace and depth of perestroyka depend, just as an earlier achievement of the goals set to improve the life of Soviet people. He objectively analysed the difficulties of the current stage and noted the growing support of the people for the party's course.

Ryzhkov positively appraised the development of Soviet-West German relations following the visit to the Soviet Union by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He described as a positive phenomenon the widening of cooperation with medium and small firms of the FRG, which makes it possible to involve a larger number of enterprises in the process of the development of bilateral relations, to widen the social base of cooperation, to conduct more vigorously the work to create joint ventures.

There was an exchange of opinion on a wide range of questions—from the appraisal of specific results of bilateral cooperation to comprehending the economic and social tendencies of profound integrational processes in Europe and prospects for relationship in new conditions between national economies of countries belonging to different social systems. West German interlocutors emphasized that the forming in near future of a joint market of the member countries of the European Economic Community must not damage the interests of the Soviet Union and other countries that are not members of the EEC.

In conclusion, the guests from the FRG wished success in the implementation of a radical economic reform in the Soviet Union, of perestroyka as a whole, of translating into reality peaceful foreign policy initiatives, above all in the disarmament area. The hope was expressed for the success of Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the FRG for which there are great expectations.

Official Expelled From Netherlands for Spying

AU1204101289 Paris AFP in English 1002 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] The Hague, April 12 (AFP)—A Soviet official has been expelled from The Netherlands for spying, a Dutch Interior Ministry spokesman said here Wednesday.

He said Gennadiy Karpeshenkov, who was probably an officer in the KGB Soviet secret police, had tried to bribe a Dutch official.

The BVD, the Dutch intelligence service, had kept him under surveillance for some time and he was expelled on Tuesday, the spokesman said, adding that Mr. Karpeshenkov had been in the country since 1985.

Officially he had been in charge of Soviet shipping interests at Sovfrakt trade office in Amsterdam. But in fact he had been operating mainly from an office block in Rotterdam where the Dutch charter firm Transworld has its headquarters, the spokesman said.

Swiss Defense Chief Begins Visit to USSR

Meets With Yazov

LD1104173889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1646 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Apr (TASS)—The talks between Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, [word indistinct] and Caspar Filliger, head of the Federal Military Department of Switzerland, took place today. A range of questions of mutual interest was discussed.

Francis Pianca, ambassador of the Swiss Confederation to the USSR, participated in the discussion.

Caspar Filliger laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

The same day the guest visited the military academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov gave a lunch in honor of Caspar Filliger.

Addresses Soviet General Staff

LD1104165389 Bern International Service in English 1530 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Swiss Defense Minister Mr Filliger held a first round of talks in Moscow with his Soviet counterpart, General Yazov. The two ministers discussed Switzerland's policy of armed neutrality, East-West issues, and disarmament efforts. The talks, which lasted 1 hour, centered on the recent arms and troop reduction proposals made by Soviet leader Mr Gorbachev. Both agreed that closer political contacts between the two countries were important in establishing mutual trust.

Following the talks, Mr Filliger gave a speech to the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff in which he outlined Switzerland's defense policies. It is the first official visit to the Soviet Union by a Swiss defense minister and Mr Filliger's first trip abroad since he took office 2 months ago.

Ryzhkov To Visit Luxembourg Mid-April
LD1104120289 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will go to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in the middle of April at the invitation of the Luxembourg Government to participate in the jubilee festivities on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of that country, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here on Tuesday. He added that a short official visit by the head of the Soviet Government to Luxembourg would be made within the framework of this trip.

Political & Social

Coverage of Unrest in Georgian Capital Continues

Patiashvili Comments on Situation

NC1204090589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian
1530 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Patiashvili, the first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, declared that the sooner the situation in the republic stabilizes, the sooner the curfew in Tbilisi will be lifted. He said that as a result of the tragic incidents which took place at the square near the Georgian government building, innocent people, mostly women, have fallen victims, while the organizers of the anti-Soviet rallies have gone into hiding. These meetings have been taking place continuously over a number of days despite many calls from the authorities to terminate them. Even Catholicos Ilya II, the head of the Georgian Church, has called on the gathered crowd, but in vain. Eventually the militia and troops were ordered to establish law and order in the square. The extremists, armed with stones and clubs, put up resistance and, as a result of the ensuing commotion, 16 people died and 145 were injured, including soldiers and militiamen. Today a day of mourning has been declared in the republic.

Shevardnadze, Razumovskiy Attend Meeting

LD1104204689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by special correspondent I. Fesunenko in Tbilisi]

[Text] [Fesunenko] This is how Tbilisi looked today. [video shows city scenes with tanks parked in the streets, soldiers patrolling, people placing flowers in front of a large building] It is a city paralyzed with tense expectation, agitated, excited, a city mourning its dead. In accordance with the decision of the party and state bodies of Georgia, a day of mourning was announced today in the republic in connection with the death of citizens—according to the latest data. We are not going to play down, but nor do we want to exaggerate the tension of the situation in the Georgian capital where a curfew has now been imposed and where military checkpoints have been set up at key transport junctions. [video shows apartment building displaying many black flags, a military check point where soldiers are examining cars]

However, when you talk to the local inhabitants, you feel the pain and bitterness. People are painfully suffering what has happened and are demanding that a careful and objective investigation into the reasons for the tragedy be carried out. By the way, this investigation has already begun. People are demanding—quite rightly—truthful and objective information about what happened. [video shows man in crowd speaking to Fesunenko]

[Sabugashvili] My name is Mirab Davidovich Sabugashvili. I am a television announcer—or at least, a former television announcer.

[Fesunenko] Mirab Davidovich, tell me please, in your opinion what should be done to normalize the situation now?

[Sabugashvili] I shall tell you what should be done. If we have a brain, if we have an elementary understanding of how to save ourselves, we must start to work to ensure absolute calm in the city, to make everything normal. Only, and at once, if we give; I do not know—it seems to me personally, that everyone here absolutely, if the curfew and everything is removed, absolutely everything, so to say. [sentence as heard] [shouts from the crowd interrupt] Wait a minute. Do not shout. Show that you are intelligent people. This is the only thing I beg of you. I assure you that if something similar happens elsewhere, something like that, which is unacceptable to us, too, if it is unacceptable to us, we shall also put an end to it, ourselves.

[Fesunenko] It must be said that the republican and city party and soviet bodies are making great efforts to ensure that the just demands of the citizens are fulfilled, so that the tension which has arisen in the republic can be gradually removed.

In the afternoon Comrades Shevardnadze, Razumovskiy, and Patiashvili had a meeting in the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic with members of the scientific-academic public. Leading scholars discussed the development of events in the republic. Once again, the general theme of the speeches was defense of the ideals of glasnost. Any preliminary report should be clarified in good time. It is necessary always to be ready to report the truth in all its details, no matter how dramatic it seems to people. This must ring out like a tocsin on the day when the whole republic is mourning its dead citizens. [video shows meeting]

While we broadcast this reportage, the meeting at the Georgian Academy of Sciences is continuing.

'Tendency' to Improvement Noted

LD1104213289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Tbilisi, 11 Apr (TASS)—The tragedy which occured in the Georgian capital has rocked the whole republic and been felt with pain in every home. This April day has been a day of mourning. Red flags edged with black line the streets and the people of Tbilisi are wearing mourning bands on their clothes.

In the city a tendency to an improvement of the situation has been noted. There has been some improvement in the work of industry compared with the past day. Working shifts started in practically all the city's enterprises. At the same time stoppages have been observed in the work of some enterprises of union subordination.

According to data from Ministry of Motor Transport and Motor Roads of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic the work of the urban transport has stabilized, and buses, streetcars, and taxis went out on their routes this morning. By the middle of the day, however, vehicles started returning to garages because separate groups of young people were stopping transport on the roads and were threatening drivers. Even internal affairs officials accompanying the drivers on their routes are being subjected to blows.

Classes are not yet being conducted at colleges. The situation in the secondary general education schools has not yet returned to normal. Because of poor work of transport there are difficulties in supplying food to kindergartens. On the whole the supply of bread and essential foodstuffs to the population of the city has returned to normal, compared with the past few days.

The work of the government commission under the leadership of Zurab Chkheidze, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, continues. It comprises leading officials of party, local soviet, and administrative bodies, and public representatives of the republic. An all-around analysis is being made of the circumstances which are promoting a dangerously heated atmosphere in the republic and which are leading to tragic consequences.

On the afternoon of 10 April Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politiburo, Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Dzhumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of Georgia, visited the Tbilisi "Dimitrov" aircraft industrial association. In a frank conversation with workers, a fundamental appraisal was made of the crisis situation which had arisen in the republic and the tragedy which has occured. It was especially stressed that working collectives must today do everything possible to normalize the situation and create prerequisites for lifting the curfew.

Late in the evening at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, Eduard Shevardnadze and Georgiy Razumovskiy met with the first secretaries of the rayon party committee of the city of Tbilisi. An exchange of views took place on ways of getting out of the difficult situation and of normalization the entire system in the city's life support. The importance of providing ideological support for political and economic measures and the need to create confidence in people that the measures being taken are correct were stressed. It was noted that the main thing now is to find the most correct and effective ways of ensuring order and of returning the republic and its capital to the channel of normal life. It is important to display civic awareness, self-control, and calm, not to give way to panic, and not to allow tragic emotions to prevail over reason.

In all rayons of the republic's capital, plena of the rayon party committees have taken place, at which the tasks of the party organizations in stabilizing the political situation in the city were discussed.

On 11 April a meeting took place of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, at which the need was stressed to intensify the work of party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies and the mass media to achieve the complete stabilization, and subsequently a normalization, of the situation, along with the continuous functioning of the urban services, public transport, and commercial organizations.

Attention was drawn to stepping up the struggle against extremists, picketers and elements engaging in hooliganism, who by their unlawful actions attempt to disrupt the normal operation of enterprises, organizations, and institutions of transport and commerce, and at times intimidate the population, especially pupils and their parents.

The Central Committee Bureau noted that today the support of the party aktiv, of the working class, and of the intelligentsia is one of the decisive conditions for success in the struggle against the extremist elements.

Taking part in the meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro were Eduard Shevardnadze and Georgiy Razumovskiy.

18 Reported Dead; 5 in 'Grave Condition'

LD1204084489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] [Announcer] The situation these days is attracting the attention of all Soviet people. Our special correspondent Yuriy Korotkov reports now from Tbilisi:

[Korotkov] For the first time I am carried away by the beauty of the city and the lilac in bloom here. There was a thunderstorm during the night, and the rain washed away the dust from the streets. But tell me, how can one wash away the feelings of tension, depression, grief, and expectation which I have seen in almost every glance of the Tbilisi people? Yesterday was a day of mourning in Tbilisi, as you know. The state flags were lowered and shows were cancelled.

As a result of the events which took place in the square in front of Government House on 9 April, 16 people died, 14 of whom were women. The youngest was (Eka Bezhanishvili), a pupil in class 10. The 157 people who were injured are in various hospitals and clinics in the

city. Another two died on the previous day. Rumors are circulating in Tbilisi about there being considerably more dead. No, there really are 18 people dead. This was officially confirmed by Georgian Health Minister Irakliy Afinogenovich Menagarishvili. True, he did add that five people are in a grave condition. The doctors are doing everything they can to save their lives.

The causes of this this tragedy are now being investigated by a government commission headed by Comrade Chkheidze, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Georgia. According to the Internal Affairs Directorate of Tbilisi City Executive Committee, six leaders of informal associations have been arrested. Over recent days a trend toward stabilization of the situation in Georgia has become apparent. This was noted yesterday at a regular session of the bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

All in all, though, the situation remains complex. Yesterday some industrial enterprises were not operating, including the (Elua) scientific production association, a worsted cloth factory, the Stankostroytel production association, and others. In some places, only between 40 and 70 percent of workers came to work. There were no classes in the majority of higher educational establishments or in some secondary schools. Parents are not letting their children go to school, fearing unforeseen situations. Urban transport was not working at full volume, either. The reason was the aggressive behavior of some [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] There is a curfew from 2300 to 0600. That is the complex situation which has developed in Tbilisi.

Government Commission To Investigate

PM1104144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by unnamed special correspondents: "On Events in Tbilisi"]

[Text] We are writing these lines in Tbilisi on a day of lowered flags—11 April has been declared a day of mourning in the republic.

It is obvious that there is far less equipment and there are far fewer soldiers in the city center. Traffic has started to move again along Rustaveli Avenue. We were told in the military commandant's office that the seats of tension have moved from the center to the residential districts. Attempts are being made to prevent workers and employees of a number of enterprises from going to work. In some places pickets of young people are blocking transport's way and threatening drivers. Some 464 people were arrested during the curfew.

According to the information from the Tbilisi City Soviet Executive Committee, the organizers of unauthorized meetings have been arrested.

The situation is complex. We were convinced of this for ourselves this morning when we visited the city rayons where a number of major enterprises are located.

The "Tsentrolit" plant. The production cycle here is continuous and it has not been disrupted, although only 45 percent of workers came to work yesterday. "Things today are a little better—80 percent of the workers turned up for the first shift," party committee secretary Viktor Goguadze said. "Work is gradually stabilizing."

The "Elektrovozostroitel" production association. Body shop team leader Givi Chadunelidze—he has been at the plant for 35 years—sees the main trouble in the pickets' constant calls to interrupt work.

The passenger motor transport enterprise. There are a lot of people at the gates. We see cadets from the militia higher school. It turns out that they must escort every vehicle which goes out. Today there are 60 buses in operation, approximately half the total. The drivers want to work but they are afraid of the threats.

The government commission headed by the chairman of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers is working. It must examine all the sources and causes of the situation which arose, and investigate the motives for the meetings which lasted many days and involved many thousands of people, which gave rise to extreme slogans, heated the already complex situation, and caused stoppages in the life and work of the city, transport, enterprises, and institutions. All this occurred. The causes and preconditions for this are serious and deserve the most profound analysis and principled assessment, just as does everything which happened on the square next to the government house.

We know one thing: The crowd in front of the government house could in no way be called small; there were at least 8,000 people there. But for some reason we seldom think about the actual mechanism of a crowd's behavior—about how, for instance, 1,000 people in an auditorium and 1,000 people on the street are completely different in terms of people's reactions, behavior, and internal links as they congregate. The person who leads a crowd out onto the street must always be prepared for unforeseen reactions on the part of the crowd, for panic, for uncontrollability, and even for acts of provocation. The person who intends to break up or dispel a crowd or intimidate it must also be ready for this....

There is much, too much, which now requires elucidation and consideration and—the main thing—a direct, honest explanation of the calamity which occurred in Tbilisi. These questions were raised at E.A. Shevardnadze's meeting with the intelligentsia and public of the republic. In reply there was a firm statement about the need for the participation of the most competent specialists and trusted representatives of the public, nominated

by the public itself, in all stages of the legal and forensic investigation of the tragedy. The people must know everything. And we are sure that everything will be said frankly to the very end.

A session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held here 10 April to discuss questions in connection with the situation which has taken place in the republic and its capital. E.A. Shevardnadze and G.P. Razumovskiy took part in the session.

Informal Group Leaders Arrested

PM1104173089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 89 First Edition p 6

["Own Information" report: "Regarding Events in Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The situation in Tbilisi still remains tense, despite the curfew. In various parts of the city residents, mostly young people, are gathering in groups and expressing anger at the event of the night of 9 April, as a result of which 18 people died and over 200 suffered injuries of varying degrees of severity, including 91 employees of the forces of public order (20 of them have been hospitalized, and 4 are in a serious condition).

The City Internal Affairs Administration has reported that informal association leaders Gamsakhurdia, Kostava, Chanturiya, Sarishvili, and Khukhunashvili have been arrested.

Because of the sluggishness of information services, the population is not being informed of events in a timely way, and consequently various rumors and fantasies are being spread and built up [the 12 April PRAVDA Second Edition version of this report, on page 6, omits the rest of this sentence]—in particular, the official reports on the number of deaths are being questioned.

The relevant organizations have been slow to issue passes, which has caused disruptions in the work of enterprises and institutions working a night shift.

A session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held yesterday to examine the question of the situation in the republic and its capital. Acknowledging that the moral and political situation in Tbilisi and a number of other cities in the republic is extremely tense and requires urgent measures in order to stabilize it, the Central Committee Bureau noted that at the same time party, soviet, and law enforcement organs are largely in control of the situation.

Comrades E.A. Shevardnadze and G.P. Razumovskiy took part in the Bureau session.

At the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee there was a meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in it. In particular, it was said at the meeting that the events which took place in Tbilisi are a tragedy for the whole republic and affected all its residents. Accountability for actions must be most strict, no one must evade responsibility.

It was noted that the city's residents should display restraint and calm under the conditions of the curfew.

[The 12 April PRAVDA Second Edition version of this report, on page 6, adds the following paragraph: "A meeting was also held with first secretaries of Tbilisi city's rayon party committees."]

As reports from different regions of the republic attest, the situation is returning to normal everywhere.

Yesterday in Georgia state flags were at half-mast and public entertainments were cancelled in token of mourning. Republican newspapers have published readers' letters expressing profound grief at the tragedy and calling for realism and sense.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on Lease Contracts

PM1104103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Lease System and Lease Relations in the USSR"; followed by brief, unattributed report on adoption of resolution by USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] As a new, progressive form of socialist economic management, the lease system is becoming increasingly important in the system of measures to improve production relations and effect the far-reaching, qualitative renewal of production forces. In order to develop the lease movement in the country; improve the effectiveness of industrial and agricultural production, construction, and other sectors of the national economy; create additional conditions for Soviet people's increasing prosperity; and protect the rights of leaseholders and increase their interest in and responsibility for achieving high end results in their work, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees the following:

1. It is laid down that the following may be leased—that is, used for economic purposes for a set period of time and for a set payment:
a) Land and other natural units;
b) The property of a state, cooperative, or other social enterprise (organization) or structural unit of an association, as the aggregate of its fixed assets, circulating capital, and other material values and financial resources;
c) The property of workshops, departments, sectors, farms, teams, and other internal subdivisions of state, cooperative, and other social enterprises (organizations);

d) Individual buildings, economic structures, units, agricultural apparatus, equipment, means of transport, working and production livestock, and other material values.

Land and other property may be leased in agricultural production, industry, construction, transport, and other sectors of the national economy.

2. The lessors may be state bodies empowered to act as such by the USSR Council of Ministers or the councils of ministers of union or autonomous republics, the executive committees of the appropriate soviets of people's deputies, state farms (sovkhozes), collective farms (kolkhozes), other state, cooperative, and other social enterprises (organizations), and citizens who have jurisdiction over, own, use, manage (operationally administer), or possess leasable property. In cases covered by the legislation of the USSR and the union republics, the lessors of natural resources may also be their primary users.

The lessees may be sovkhozes, kolkhozes, or other state, cooperative, or other social enterprises (organizations), including organizations of lessees, collectives of their subdivisions, or else a citizen or group of citizens. An organization of lessees is formed on a strictly voluntary basis and has legal rights. The members of this organization may be working people at a state enterprise on the basis of which this organization is formed, or other citizens who have reached 16 years of age.

3. Property leased out remains the property of the state or the lessor. Output produced by the lessees—cooperative or other social enterprises (organizations) and citizens—is their property. In the event of improvement in leased property, effected by the lessee using his own resources and with the permission of the lessor (modernization of a building or unit, replacement of equipment, and so forth), or the erection of buildings and units on leased land, the lessee has the right to reimbursement of the expenditure required for this purpose on the expiry of his lease contract.

The cost of improvements effected by the lessee without the permission of the lessor and which cannot be detached without damage to the leased property is not liable for reimbursement.

With the lease of the property of an enterprise as a whole, the lessee has the right to reimbursement of expenditure made by him to improve the leased property, independent of permission by the lessor for such improvement, as long as the law or the contract does not stipulate differently.

The lease contract entered into by a kolkhoz, other cooperative or social organization, or citizen as lessee may stipulate that:

Buildings and units erected by the lessee on a leased plot of land using his own or loaned resources are his property;

Leased property, with the exception of facilities owned exclusively by the state, become the property of the lessee on the expiry of the lease period stipulated in the contract on the condition that the value of that property is fully covered by the lease payment paid. In this respect, property necessary for the operation of a personal subsidiary plot and individual labor activity may become the property of the citizen.

On the liquidation of an organization of lessees, any property remaining after all accounts have been settled with the members of the organization and all obligations to the budget, banks, and other creditors have been met is transferred to the lessor.

4. Persons engaged in individual labor activity in agriculture (peasant holdings) may lease plots of land, the size of which is established in the procedure defined by the legislation of the union republics and on the basis of the possibility of these plots' being worked by the personal labor of members of the peasant holding.

5. In the performance of their production activity, peasant holdings may enter into cooperative ties with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other state, cooperative, and other social organizations and set up supply and sale, processing, repair, construction, and other cooperatives.

In order to improve the efficiency of their activity and ensure the protection of their legal rights and interests, peasant holdings may, on a strictly voluntary basis, join forces in territorial unions.

6. Members of organizations of lessees and also persons engaged in individual labor activity in agriculture (members of peasant holdings), are liable to social insurance and social security on a par with workers and employees. Organizations of lessees and peasant holdings contribute to the state social insurance fund from their income, in the procedure and amount laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers. The period of work in an organization of lessees or peasant holding during which insurance contributions were paid is counted as part of the length of employment.

7. The question of leasing land within an economic unit is decided by the sovkhoz, kolkhoz, or other primary land user. Any groundless refusal by the sovkhoz, kolkhoz, or other land user to lease land to its workers (kolkhoz members) may be appealed against in the executive committee of the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies.

The executive committees of rayon (city) soviets of people's deputies have the right to confiscate from sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises and organizations any unused or irrationally used lands for the purpose of creating a reserve of leaseable land.

8. The basic document regulating relations between the lessor and the lessee is the lease contract. It is concluded on voluntary principles and the basis of full equality for the sides concerned. The contract may be concluded on a competitive basis.

The lease contract stipulates: The responsibility of the lessor to convey property to the lessee in a condition corresponding to the terms of the contract and for a set period; and the responsibility of the lessee to use that property in accordance with the terms of the contract and the purpose of the property for the production of output (works, services) and the generation of income (profit), maintain the property in a good condition, pay the lease payments, and return the property to the lessor on the expiry of the contract in the condition in which he received it, with general wear and tear taken into account, or in the condition stipulated by the contract, with the exception of cases listed in the fourth part of Article 3 of this decree.

The lease contract may also contain other terms, including the responsibility of the lessor to ensure material and technical supply, promote the development of production, introduce scientific and technical achievements and advanced technologies, retool production, ensure social development, provide information, consultation, and other assistance, contribute to cadre training, and create the necessary conditions for the efficient use of the leased property and its maintenance in a proper technical condition, as well as terms concerning the ownership responsibilities of both lessor and lessee.

The lessee may only sublease property he has obtained on contract if he has the consent of the lessor.

The transfer of leased agricultural land from one form into another is possible only with observance of the requirements of land legislation.

The lessee is within his rights to use for his own needs any widespread mineral resources, peat, and water facilities available on the leased plot of land, provided the lease contract does not stipulate differently.

Under a lease agreement within an economic unit (lease contract), the lessee pledges to produce and sell output to the lessor or other enterprises in accordance with the contract. The lessee has the right to dispose of output at his own discretion that is produced in excess of the volume indicated in the contract.

The terms of the lease contract are determined by the sides in accordance with legislation on the labor of workers and employees and also legislation regulating the labor relations of members of kolkhozes, other cooperatives, and some social organizations.

9. A change of terms or annulment of the lease contract may take place with the agreement of the sides.

On the application of either of the sides, the lease contract may be amended or annulled by a court or arbitration.

With a lease agreement within an economic unit (lease contract), the question of amending or annulling the contract is decided by the labor collective council of the enterprise (general assembly of kolkhoz members). The decision taken by the labor collective council of the enterprise (general assembly of kolkhoz members) may be contested in the executive committee of the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies.

The lessor may demand the amendment or annulment of the contract:
if the lessee uses property in a manner that does not conform with the contract or the purpose of the property;
if the lessee either deliberately or through carelessness causes the condition of the property to deteriorate;
if the lessee fails to pay his lease payment within the period stipulated by the contract;
if the lessee fails to carry out capital repairs or the renewal of property in those cases where capital repair or the renewal of property is the responsibility of the lessee under the law or the contract;
if there is a deterioration in land through the fault of the lessee, a reduction in the fertility of the soil, or if leased land is allowed to lie fallow for a long period of time.

The lessee has the right to demand the amendment or annulment of the contract:
if the lessor fails to carry out the capital repairs or renewal of property for which he is responsible;
if the propert proves to be in a condition unfit for use for reason of circumstances for which the lessee cannot be held responsible;
if part of the leased property proves to be superfluous for the purpose covered by the contract.

A citizen lessee also has the right to demand the amendment or annulment of the contract if he reaches pensionable age or becomes unable to work.

The legislation of the USSR and union republics may also provide for other cases where the lease contract is amended or annulled at the application of one of the sides.

The liquidation or reorganization of a state body, enterprise, or lessor-organization or change of owner of an object of lease does not serve as grounds for changing the terms of or terminating a lease contract.

10. The duration of the lease is determined by the contract. In this respect the lease of land, buildings, units, and the property of enterprises as a whole must, as a rule, be arranged on a long-term basis—from 5 to 50 years or even longer. Depending on the nature of the property and the aims of the lease, the contract may be short-term—under 5 years.

On the expiry of the contract, the lessee who has properly fulfilled his responsibilities under the contract has the right to renew the contract.

In the absence of application by one of the sides to terminate the contract on its date of expiry, it is considered extended for the same period as stipulated by the original contract.

On termination of a contract with a citizen lessee, members of his family who have lived and worked with him have a preferential right to conclude a lease contract.

In the event of the death of the lessee, the rights of the lessee are transferred to one of his heirs who lived and worked with him until his death.

On the termination of the lease contract, the lessee and members of his family retain the right of ownership of their home and other property and the right to use adjoining land.

11. Lease payment may be fixed for leased property as a whole or for each component of the leased property separately, in kind, in money, or in mixed forms of payment. The amount of lease payment and the procedure for payment are determined by the contract.

With the leasing of land and other natural units by their primary user, lease payment is paid to the lessor in an amount covering his expenditure on the upkeep and improvement of these units and also the production infrastructure necessary to satisfy the needs of the lessee.

The remaining amount of the lease payment is paid to the rayon (city) or city rayon soviet of people's deputies.

In addition to the lease payment, the lessee (with the exception of collectives of enterprises' subdivisions) pays taxes (payments into the budget) in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and union republics.

Any income generated by lessees as a result of their implementing measures to improve the fertility of land and also to improve production facilities and other property will not entail any increase in the lease payment.

The size of the lease payment may be changed with the agreement of the sides within the period stipulated by the contract but no more than once every 5 years. It may be revisd earlier at the request of one of the sides, but only in the event of the commissioning or modernization of fixed assets using state budget funds or the resources of the lessor, the revision of centralized prices and tariffs, and other cases provided for by legislation.

The lessee has the right to demand an appropriate reduction in lease payments if, by virtue of circumstances for which he is not responsible, the conditions of economic management stipulated by the contract or the state of the leased property substantially deteriorate.

12. The lessee independently determines the directions of his economic activity and disposes of the output he produces (works, services) and the income he generates in accordance with current legislation and the lease contract. Interference by the lessor in the use of leased property or the economic activity of the lessee is not allowed.

13. For failure to fulfill lease contract obligations or improper fulfillment of these obligations, the sides are made accountable in line with legislation and the contract.

The lessee is exempted totally or partially from liability for failure to fulfill his contractual obligations if they have not been fulfilled as a result of natural disaster or other circumstances beyond his control.

14. The lessee is guaranteed protection of his right to property acquired under a lease contract that is equal to the protection provided by civil legislation regarding the right of ownership. He may obtain leaseable property on demand from any illegal ownership and demand the elimination of impediments to the use of property and compensation for any damage caused to the property by any person, including the lessor.

In the event of land plots under lease being either totally or partially confiscated for state or social needs, the executive committee of the relevant local soviet of people's deputies is obliged to ensure that the lessee is given a plot of land of equal value in another place. The confiscation of a plot of land can only be carried out after the enterprise or organization which has allotted the plot of land has compensated the losses of the lessee, including the construction of residential and production premises to replace those confiscated.

15. Disputes arising in the implementation of a lease contract will be examined by a court or arbitration in line with their competence.

Disputes arising in connection with the implementation of a lease agreement within an economic unit (lease contract) will be resolved by the labor collective council of the enterprise (general assembly of kolkhoz members) and, in cases covered by the legislation of the USSR and union republics, by a court.

The decision taken by the labor collective council of the enterprise (general assembly of kolkhoz members) may be contested in the executive committee of the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies.

16. Proceeding from this decree, the USSR Council of Ministers is to define the economic and organizational foundations of lease relations in the USSR and also the special features of these relations for individual forms of lease agreement.

17. In line with this decree and other acts of USSR legislation, the legislation of the union republics regulates lease relations whether they are provided for by union legislation or not.

18. Article 25 of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" is embodied in the following wording:
"Article 25. Detailed Application of This Law.
"The detailed application of this law in individual sectors of the national economy and for individual types of enterprises is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.
"The USSR Council of Ministers also has the right to introduce new forms of economic accountability for enterprises and organizations and to broaden their rights as compared to the limits laid down by this law."

19. Proceeding from this decree and on the basis of experience in the development of the lease movement in the country, the USSR Council of Ministers is instructed to prepare a draft USSR law on the lease system and lease relations in the USSR and submit it by 1 July 1990 to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 7 April 1989.

On 7 April 1989, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the resolution "On the Economic and Organizational Foundations of Lease Relations in the USSR" and approved a corresponding order.

Preliminary Results of Lithuania Runoff Elections

LD1104121289 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Excerpts] In yesterday's successive ballot, eight more people's deputies were elected who will represent Lithuania in the Soviet Union's Deputies' Congress. Standing for election during the successive ballot were two candidates [per seat] who a fortnight ago had polled the greatest number of votes but less than the required half of the ballots cast. In the successive ballot, one contender had to poll at least one vote more than his rival.

It seems that in the successive ballot the electors were guided by a different logic, as quite unexpectedly two candidates failed to realize the advantage gained during the first ballot. So, Secretary of the Sajudis Sejmas Council Virgilius Cepaitis was outpolled by (Ivan Tikhonovich), a lecturer at the Vilnius pedagogical institute who had been up to recently known as an active propagator of atheism. Analysts believe that in this constituency of Vilnius, where Lithuanians were perhaps in the minority, the ethnic principle was decisive in voting. And perhaps because of similar reasons an especially unexpected defeat was suffered by Professor (Ceslovas Kudabas) a member of the Sajudis Sejmas Council and chairman of the Lithuanian Fund of Culture. A fortnight ago he had polled nearly 2 and ½ times more votes than his principal rival, (Gennadiy Konoplevov), but this time the latter outpolled him. (Gennadiy Konoplevov), first deputy chairman of Lithuania's Agroindustrial Committee, is one of the few party and government officials returned at the elections. [passage omitted]

On the whole, out of the 41 deputies returned, 36 were backed by Sajudis. True, now all maintain unanimously that there are neither Sajudis or Communist Party deputies, only MP's for Lithuania. And this is true, I must say.

Let me also add that all of these results are preliminary.

Deputy Defense Minister Yashin Nominated

PM1104095389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel A. Gorbachev: "Candidate Nominated"]

[Text] As is known, repeat elections will be held in May in 198 electoral okrugs where none of the candidate deputies obtained the prescribed number of votes on 26 March.

Colonel General Yu. Yashin, USSR deputy defense minister, has been nominated candidate deputy in a number of labor collectives in Smolensk, Bryansk, and Kaluga Oblasts, which are in National-Territorial Okrug No 27.

General Nechayev Interviewed on Election Results

PM1004140189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed "Topical Interview" with Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and member of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies: "The Elections: Lessons, Conclusions, Problems"—place and date of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's questions are answered by Colonel General V. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and member of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Viktor Stepanovich, let us remind readers that this is already our third conversation since the start of the election campaign. The first took place during the nomination of candidate people's deputies. The second was during the period of okrug election campaign meetings. Now we meet again—after the elections. How do you assess their results?

[Nechayev] First of all, I would like to congratulate all who were elected USSR people's deputies and to wish them fruitful work. These were the most democratic elections ever in the period of Soviet power.

The results of the election campaign should be examined as one of the most important frontiers of restructuring, a significant landmark in the implementation of political reform. The concept of this reform, defined at the 19th all-union party conference, envisages the institution of a system of congresses of people's deputies, the transformation of the USSR Supreme Soviet into a permanent organ, the creation of a constitutional oversight committee, radical democratization of elections, and direct representation of public organizations in the supreme organs of power. And we all can see the party undeviatingly and consistently implementing the strategy it has elaborated.

Having started in December last year, the election campaign became the core of the first stage of political reform. The extraordinary nature of these elections was very vividly manifested. People got a feeling of real responsibility and realized that they and they alone had the power to assign the deputy's mandates. For the first time in many years voters expressed their sympathies and preferences in different ways, voting for different candidates. But they demonstrated total unanimity in the desire to improve our society's health on the basis of genuine people's power.

The election campaign is still not completely over. In 274 okrugs deputies were not elected because no candidate won the requisite number of votes. Runoff elections will be held in 76 okrugs, and repeat elections in 198 okrugs. A number of public organizations also have to give their preferences. Despite this, the new corps of deputies was by and large constituted 26 March.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] This marathon which ran for almost 4 months produced much that was new, including the unusually high degree of tension of the contest for deputies' mandates. What caused this?

[Nechayev] In the course of the election campaign we saw for ourselves how the new Law on Elections "promotes" restructuring. Because of it, there were substantial changes in the election campaign atmosphere. The nomination of candidates, their meetings with voters, and the discussion of programs became genuinely democratic and avid. These processes have never before produced such heated passions and emotions. People made exceptionally high demands of the USSR candidate people's deputies. Each voter was in a position to determine the extent to which candidates were prepared to solve tasks of state importance, to compare their programs and their professional, political, and moral qualities, and to make his choice on this basis.

People really had an opportunity to do this. Let me remind readers that electoral commissions in public organizations registered 880 contenders for the 750 deputy's mandates. And the ballot papers in the 750 territorial and equally as many national-territorial okrugs listed the names of 2,895 candidates. They included 121 representatives of the Soviet Army and Navy. As of today, 76 of them have been elected USSR people's deputies: 34 from territorial okrugs, 20 from national-territorial okrugs, and 22 from public organizations. They include 2 marshals of the Soviet Union, 3 marshals of aviation, 43 generals and admirals, 25 officers including 7 junior ranks, 1 senior sergeant, and 2 Soviet Army servicemen. There are 74 Communists and 2 Communist Youth League [Komsomol] members. The range of offices held by servicemen-deputies is also broad—from USSR deputy defense minister to military school student.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What form did the election campaign struggle take for Army and Navy candidates? In your view, what predetermined the success by some of them and prevented others from winning a deputy's mandate?

[Nechayev] The struggle for the deputies' mandates developed along an ascending curve. It reached its culmination point on the eve of the elections. It was simply impossible to overlook this. The complex and in many respects contradictory atmosphere in which the election campaign was conducted also had its effect. The processes of democratization and glasnost are spreading in society and in the Armed Forces. The critical mood of people is vividly manifest. They are very interested in the deepening of restructuring and scrupulously appraise the state of affairs, the ongoing changes, and the results already achieved. Decisive importance attaches not to office or title but primarily to candidate deputies' personal qualities.

Not all servicemen-candidate deputies were nominated by soldiers' collectives. Their social electoral base extended beyond the Army and Navy framework. It also included many industrial enterprise labor collectives, collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], and education establishments. For example, 25 persons were nominated by public organizations.

There were 96 servicemen running for election from territorial and national-territorial okrugs. There were three who withdrew their candidacies. Out of the 93, there were 30 single candidates. There were 41 who had a rival, while the rivals of 22 of them ranged in number from 2 to 11.

Rivalry demanded energetic and purposeful actions. Our candidates held over 3,600 meetings. They visited many military units, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, education establishments, public organizations, and industrial enterprises.

The fact that servicemen in a number of electoral okrugs came ahead of their opponents, some of whom certainly were respected people, confirms the high prestige of the Armed Forces. At the same time, 39 servicemen failed to win the requisite number of votes. But it is not worth dramatizing the situation. Struggle is struggle. At times it offers surprises, including unpleasant ones. Therefore, it is necessary to draw correct conclusions. Some people have already started puffing the election results.

Meanwhile, facts testify that in this case candidate deputies did not yield all that much to their rivals. If the results of this struggle are described as a defeat, then it was a perfectly honorable defeat.

It is a fact that a number of eminent military leaders were rejected at the elections. It is, however, a fact which primarily demands serious reflections, a considered and comprehensive analysis, and profound conclusions. The easiest thing now is to come up with hasty and categorical assessments. But the fairest thing is not to judge the processes which have engulfed our society and military collectives from the positions of detached observers.

It is no secret that individuals have recently striven to denigrate the Army, to give an incorrect impression of military service, and to spread absurd rumors and conjectures. In the course of the election campaign the mass media picked up the important topic of ensuring the country's reliable security and the need for strong and modern Armed Forces. Sundry action groups and informal associations, such as those in the Baltic republics for example, launched insulting attacks against Army and Navy representatives. The election programs of some candidate deputies contained irresponsible promises to solve all problems at the expense of cutbacks in the Armed Forces and defense expenditures. In this process they kept silent about the decisions on these issues already made by the party and the government. This is nothing new. It should be perceived as a desire to have others pull their chestnuts out of the fire, as political plagiarism.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] We would like to know your opinion of the new Law on Elections. To what extent does it conform with the spirit of restructuring and the tasks of a rule-of-law state? Or is there some need for additional work on it? If so, what exactly?

[Nechayev] The new Law on Elections certainly played an important role in stimulating people's sociopolitical activeness. This was vividly manifested at all stages of the election campaign. The elections made it possible to boost further still the processes of democratization and glasnost and to create the necessary conditions for the further implementation of political reform. The main condition is the constitution of the new corps of deputies.

There are essentially no norms or provisions of the law which did not undergo verification through the new election campaign experience.

At the same time, life proved that the law is still far from perfect. It was no accident that the mandates for people's deputies from the CPSU said: "To continue the improvement of electoral practice." In my view, this is said with utmost clarity. Especially because there are quite a few reasons for amplifying, augmenting, and amending various articles of the law. Specifically, the Central Electoral Commission receives very many requests that a deputy be elected from at least two candidates.

The elections also showed a certain idealization of the role of okrug election meetings as a barometer of public moods. Reality proved different at times. In many instances the actual candidates who enjoyed the greatest support at meetings failed to win the majority of votes later.

In my view, there is a need to improve also the procedure for electing deputies from public organizations. I am convinced that a detailed conversation on all these topics will follow at the Congress of People's Deputies.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What effect did the election campaign have on the process of democratization in Army and Navy life and the enhancement of the personnel's social activeness?

[Nechayev] Whenever society changes, the Armed Forces also change. In this context, the relatively brief time span during which the election campaign's broad panorama unfolded for everyone to see produced a wave of unprecedented social and civic activeness by people, including servicemen.

The period of elections coincided with a new stage of the Soviet Armed Forces' development. Important military-political and strategic decisions are being implemented in conformity with decisions already made. Measures have been elaborated for fundamental reorganization of the Army and Navy and the implementation of major organizational-technical measures associated with the reduction of Armed Forces and military expenditures and the conversion of the defense industry.

The entire course of the election campaign offered convincing proof that democratization has become the main and most effective means for renewal of Army and Navy life. The atmosphere of glasnost and openness helped to develop the personnel's initiative and to efficiently utilize the existing democratic institutions in helping commanders, staffs, and political workers to solve their set

tasks. It plays an important role in rallying the multinational soldiers' collectives, overcoming non-regulation mutual relations, preventing abuses of power by some officials, and defending servicemen's constitutional rights and freedoms.

A special role in these conditions was played by Communists—extraordinary, principled, and responsible people in a resolute mood for change and for implementation of the directives of the 19th all-union party conference which oriented us toward qualitative parameters of military building. These people are the future of the Armed Forces, their reliable and everlasting reserve. And the elections offered sound proof of this.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The main part of the election campaign is now over. It brought much that is new in our life. It armed us with the initial but valuable experience of participating in genuinely democratic processes. At the same time, it taught us instructive lessons. What do they consist of?

[Nechayev] First is the lesson of democratization. The almost 4 months of the election campaign have taken us very far along the path of restructuring. The party's political line underwent one of life's serious trials and gained the people's mighty and indisputable support. Everything, good and bad alike, fell within the field of force of democratization. The good was given an impetus toward further improvement. The bad is being resolutely overcome.

[Text] The lessons of democratization should be examined through the election campaign prism. Its outcome prompts serious reflections. Why, for example, were some eminent military leaders rejected at the ballot? Why did some of their subordinates vote against their election as people's deputies? Is this not a reason for a more exacting evaluation of our work style?

We also encountered political naivete and incompetence. Some candidate deputies, including servicemen, introduced obviously unfeasible propositions in their election platforms. Instead of objectively approaching the realities of the present, they pursued pseudo-popularity and made sensational promises. But neither inordinate ambition, nor a desire to gain power at all cost, nor blatantly hare-brained schemes can be concealed from people. Voters gave their preference to those who stuck to real-life arguments, upheld the party's election program, and proved their honesty and probity by deeds. This conclusion really must be kept well in mind.

The second lesson refers to the sphere of political vigilance. The elections brought together the complex and ambiguous processes occurring within society. Specifically, they cast a bright light on groupings which strove to take advantage of the election campaign in pursuit of selfish interests, speculated on our difficulties, exaggerated the shortcomings, and attempted to drive a wedge into the unity of USSR peoples. Nor can we pass over in silence the fact that attempts were made in a number of places to discredit restructuring and the process of democratization and glasnost, to set up political structures in opposition to the CPSU.

Unfortunately, a number of candidates and their agents, and some commanders, political workers, and party and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] aktiv members, proved inadequately prepared to conduct an open dialogue on acute topics and to expose demagogues and masters of bombast. A conclusion for the future must be drawn also from this. After all, elections for republic and local soviets are not far off.

And in conclusion—the lessons of patriotism. Today we must adopt a different approach toward this term. There is only one criterion here—contribution to restructuring. A genuine patriot does not endlessly repeat beautiful phrases about love for the motherland. He proves his loyalty to the fatherland by deeds. Whenever he perceives unresolved problems, he does not panic but rolls up his sleeves and surmounts the obstacles. He does not give in to difficulties but, day in and day out, does everything within his power for the renewal of life.

These conditions clearly revealed the Army's role as a unique school for civic responsibility and internationalism. The elections proved the great prestige of the Armed Forces which reliably guard the gains of socialism. The people assessed on its merits the sociopolitical activeness displayed by Army and Navy servicemen in the course of restructuring. Everyone saw for himself the selfless actions in eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, in the wake of the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan, and in the preparation for reduction and reorganization of the Armed Forces. The Soviet Army has been and will remain an army with high standards of combat readiness, and army of friendship and brotherhood of peoples, and an army of genuine patriots and internationalists.

Candidates Discuss Defense Industry Conversion

18270081 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with enterprise managers in the defense complex—candidate people's deputies of the USSR, by M. Makhlin: "How To Beat Swords Into Ploughshares"]

[Text] What is conversion? One would look in vain in the encyclopedic dictionaries for this notion which has entered circulation following perestroyka, the new thinking, and democratization of all spheres of life. Conversion (translated from the Latin as "change, transformation") is an element of linguistics—internal conversion belongs in nuclear physics, and loan conversion is the purview of financiers. The kind of conversion all of us are talking and hearing about at present means an abrupt turnaround in [the application of] the military potential to solving economic and social problems, reorientation

of special production facilities toward turning out nondefense products, and the transformation of the defense industry and science from a consumer to a large-scale producer of national income.

At present, glasnost allows us to openly talk and write about the thing which everybody has long known or, at the very least, guessed at: The Muscovites produced more than just fabrics, machine tools, and cars. Enterprises, research institutes, and design bureaus of the capital make a weighty contribution to creating sophisticated weapons systems and up-to-date combat materiel.

The following candidate people's deputies of the USSR took part in a round-table discussion at the editorial office: Yevgeniy Olegovich Adamov, general designer and director of the power equipment institute; Suren Grigoryevich Arutyunov, director of the Tushino Machine Building Plant; Leonid Ivanovich Kozlovskiy, general director of the "Kommunar" Machine Building Production Association; Nikolay Vasilyevich Mikhaylov, general director of the Central Scientific and Production Association "Vympel."

What are the main directions of conversion? The conversation began with searching for an answer to this question.

[Adamov] The programs of many, perhaps, even a majority of candidates include demands to reduce funding for defense, space [exploration], and other expensive programs. This is understandable because every candidate has to answer for himself and his electorate the question of where to obtain the funds for solving social problems. However, it is only surprising that it has been suggested that the cutback come from an unknown level. After all, the defense budget, as well as the spending for space, still has not been published. Actions that has not been thought out can hardly be viewed as acts of state wisdom. The 300 billion dollar U.S. defense budget is for real, and the Pakistani nuclear bomb is no secret for anyone anymore.

It makes sense to assume that the deputies who serve on the Supreme Soviet Defense Commission will begin their activities by determining the scope of our defense expenditures, and analyzing their compliance with the principle of "reasonable sufficiency." It may very well turn out that defense problems are not necessarily solved with "little bloodshed." So, supposedly we've come up with the needed source of revenue? Don't jump to conclusions.

We should not forget that our economy is, how shall I put it, not entirely for real, so to speak. In the absence of the ruble as a yardstick for socially necessary input into producing goods and rendering services, and with arbitrary prices, it is impossible to simply take a ruble out of, say, tank production and increase the wages of retirees [as published]. The wages which used to be paid to workers at a tank plant will still have to be paid to them. The funds actually freed up from outlays for the metal of tanks consist of entirely different rubles which do not turn directly into wages. The metal itself may, of course, be used for other purposes, including utterly peaceful ones, but this is a different matter.

This is why both serious economists and the candidates who approach their programs responsibly are now talking about the need for conversion of military production. This process, providing for the utilization of capacities freed up at defense industry enterprises for turning out products for the national economy, offers many tangible advantages. First, we should take into account the fact that, for many reasons, the state has concentrated the superpotential precisely in the defense sphere: the best specialists, the highest-quality equipment, and so on.

Second, the manufacturing of new products at such enterprises may be developed without a sizable capital investment. Finally, against the general background of a decline in the technological and labor discipline, defense enterprises stand out for the high quality of their products. In a word, conversion allows the economy to achieve the necessary results faster.

[Mikhaylov] It is hard to disagree with the main points stated by Yevgeniy Olegovich. Let me add that in the article "How Much Does Security Cost?" published in issue 4 of the journal KOMMUNIST the following simple calculation is included: Since the combined national income of the Warsaw Treaty countries is 2.5 times lower than that of the NATO countries, and the parity of armaments means that they are spending roughly identical funds for this purpose, it means that defense claims a share of the national income of the Warsaw Treaty Organization countries which is 2.5 times higher than in the North Atlantic Pact.

Furthermore, in the Soviet military budget, defense expenditures remain at a stable level of 20.2 billion rubles a year. This is quite modest compared to the 300 billion dollars spent by the U.S. However, in the same journal, Professor of the V. I. Lenin Military Political Academy, Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Yudin writes that our 20.2 billion rubles "are used for combat training, pay, housing and cultural services to the personnel. As shown by the analysis of the structure of defense expenditures in the years of the Great Patriotic War, as well as military expenditures of the U.S. and other countries, all of this accounts for approximately 29 to 33 percent of total military expenditures. Weapons, combat materiel, and a considerable segment of defense R&D are a part of other items in the budget."

Unfortunately, only in this manner, almost intuitively, may we judge how excessive the military spending is.

As far as conversion is concerned, this notion has certainly existed for a long time—exactly as many years as humanity has carried on scientific-technical progress.

This is an objective economic rule in the absence of which scientific-technical progress is not possible. Otherwise we will endlessly repeat in different branches the same work at all stages from research to production.

It is yet another matter that the economic mechanism in existence in our country did not promote conversion. The situation has changed now. Even a reduction in defense expenditures by 5 percent has produced quite an effect in virtually all branches.

As I see it, it is necessary to view conversion as expanded use of the achievements of the defense industry (but not only this industry) in other branches of the national economy and the social sphere. In the course of it, the effect of "multiplying" the achievements is produced which rules out multiple duplication, provides for a reduction in the capital outlays needed to receive adequate results, and speeds up the cycle of their implementation in a new, broader market. Besides, it means efficient utilization of the freed-up capacities, capital outlays, labor, and so forth for solving non-defense problems and tasks.

The conversion of the defense potential may be viewed as a most significant factor of the national-economic and socioeconomic efficiency of that same potential. This variety of conversion is carried out by making a commercial use of military programs for meeting domestic and foreign demand. A well-developed commercial component of military programs may ultimately make them profitable.

Moreover, it is often more advantageous for the national economy to invest funds in the defense branches which already have highly skilled personnel and the most modern equipment. In the U.S., every dollar spent for aerospace technology brings 3 dollars in profits to the state by virtue of multiplying the developments in civilian industries. This is a plus, not a minus, as we are used to thinking of military expenditures.

We should note the high potential of converting the defense potential through increasing the sales of products (e.g., electronic sound equipment, programs, new technologies and materials, and so forth) for the technologically related sectors of the national economy.

[Arutyunov] As a production person, I would like to bring to your attention the danger of a simplified approach to changing production lines in defense industry facilities. Since the beginning of this year, the so-called "post-office boxes" switched to complete economic accountability and self-financing—the same operational environment as in the entire industry of our country. In a word, we are implementing economic methods, and look at all endeavors undertaken from the point of view of their ultimate feasibility and efficiency. However, now that conversion is being talked about we have again run into old approaches, and begun to "lapse" into arbitrary practices. This important maneuver was frequently carried out with the same zeal with which corn was foisted throughout the land in its time.

Please note that conversion was announced by a directive. In theoretical terms, its consequences appear to be positive. In practice, they may turn out be negative. The gross national product will drop for a period of time. The so-called "defense [output]" will decline, and a substitute will not appear overnight.

Military funding has declined, that is, our customers have received less money, and accordingly have ordered fewer products. Capacities have been freed. However, what do these capacities amount to if they are not retrofitted with the necessary equipment and not supplied with documentation for producing new goods? We were notified of the cancellation of one order on 25 December.

[Mikhaylov] This is not too bad. One of our orders was voided in March.

[Arutyunov] Here we go. What are we to do? Look for another order. Reorganize flexibly. Only the production of goods with similar technologies may save us. At the same time, we are looking for something different beginning in 1991. Let us say, I don't know how to say it—that is how much we are used to being silent about what we make—say, for example, consumer goods, equipment for processing and storing agricultural products, medical equipment. What about the time before 1991? We are busy with serial production of goods. In the aircraft industry, there is a saying: every aircraft knows about its 9 months. If you want to start up the production of a refrigerator, 2 years are needed.

I am arguing my point of view. Acting as we do now, bringing benefits to the people and the state, we should be prepared to operate in the red for 1 or 2 years to come.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Such operation in the red may only be welcomed provided, of course, that it will not undermine the defense capability of our country. Conversion will hardly bring about a decline in the gross national product and gross national income. After all, wholesale prices for military products set in our country are, putting it plainly, symbolic; they are not in line with actual outlays. Paradoxical as it is, your expensive goods actually turn out to have a low profit margin. On the contrary, starting up the production of modern household, medical, processing machinery, or consumer goods which have a high profit margin will allow defense industry enterprises as well to generate more profit, and improve the economic growth indicators in our country.

[Arutyunov] After all, they mine the ore, smelt the metal, and produce equipment. All of this cannot be brought to a halt overnight.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] And it should not be brought to a halt. Given our shortages, all of this will be placed in our national economy, and will invigorate the wholesale trade market.

[Kozlovskiy] Nothing will appear on the store shelves just because we are going to theorize. We've got to act. I have been working in the industry for 35 years, and, believe me, have learned about the vagaries of the military doctrine. They harp on the fiat of the producer everywhere. This is strange to us. What we are familiar with is the fiat of the customer. We make what they tell us to make. The capacity of our enterprise is our only argument. Even this is not taken into account, however. It is commonly known how we crank out our products and strain ourselves. I for one am convinced that this strain was not always justified nor was it for a due cause. This may be easily checked if we dig in our arsenals. When we carry out scheduled maintenance at our customer's facilities we get to see a tremendous amount of obsolete products which nobody needs. As for us, we are forced to take the word of the customer at face value, and, as they say, apply ourselves. Try failing to fulfill an order of the Ministry of Defense! That's exactly it. Growth is definitely needed.

My personal conviction is that, at first, science has got to be reoriented. Conversion is already under way. It has also affected our serial production. The issue has been resolved unambiguously. We have to start up production necessary for the national economy if we want to avoid bankruptcy.

Some of us also took as a slogan the declaration made in the UN by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on unilateral reductions in the strength of armed forces and armaments. Then it came to orders, and we saw that we have to do some serious thinking about how to make ends meet. So, we have to ensure leeway within a year or two in order to retain the top-notch personnel, in order not to impair the interests of security of our country with all our noble desires and motives.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Which specific steps have your collectives already taken in order to develop peaceful production?

[Adamov] When they talk about conversion many people assume that defense ministries begin to participate in production for the national economy from the zero level. This misconception is due to the shortcomings of information in times now past. Actually, the volume of production for peaceful purposes in all defense industries amounts to many billions of rubles.

For example, we are now saying openly inside our country that the Ministry of Medium Machine Building, at one of the institutes of which I work, handles all issues of nuclear technology. Incidentally, this has never been a secret abroad. It is natural that for the populace nuclear technology means primarily nuclear weapons, and only later would someone figure out that this also means isotopes for both the medical industry and non-destructive testing of many kinds of products, power generation and the main means of transportation for the Northern Maritime Route. However, inside the Ministry of Medium Machine Building as well, many people have no idea that this ministry is the largest supplier of, say, mineral fertilizer, or gold producer. Incidentally, about gold. It is difficult to understand, but the price for it for the ministry was set at a substantially lower level than for non-defense extractive industry enterprises. Go and try to simply take the funds from one industry and transfer them to another.

The process of expanding the participation of defense industry enterprises in producing consumer goods began long before the heated preelection struggle broke out, and many candidates first learned the meaning of the word "conversion," which was little used in our country, and subsequently included it in their programs. Thus, the Ministry of Medium Machine Building not only assumed the responsibilities of the disbanded Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances in producing equipment for dairy plants, and took over these plants, but also began to turn out such products at its best enterprises. Even experimental divisions joined such operations. For example, our institute is now producing fixtures for dairy plants for the second year running. The most highly skilled technology and materials science specialists are involved in developing heat exchangers for the production of sour dairy products.

[Kozlovskiy] We make "Chayka" vacuum cleaners. We are taking up textile industry equipment. This has already been reported in detail in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Arutyunov] Boats, household goods. Within 2 years we will master the production of sophisticated equipment for processing industries and for health care. Thus far, we have about 40 kopecks worth of consumer goods per one ruble of the remuneration fund. However, the prospects look very good.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Taking into account the nature and volume of the main product, which is ultimately turned out at a loss, and the technical and cadre potential of your enterprises, it is reasonable to expect that in the future your collectives will provide for covering the remuneration fund by goods 1.5 if not 2 times.

[Mikhaylov] At present, this indicator stands at a level of 80 kopecks in our association. Over the last 3 years, it increased by about 1.5 times. Now we are developing a UHF installation for defrosting meat, a system of automatic control for a production line of ground sausage mix, and for surfactant production equipment.

Together with other enterprises of our industry, we developed in 1988 a small electric motor for household electronic sound equipment. In the course of this we used already available scientific-technical developments of a defense nature. The operation of another novelty, thermostats for electric heating appliances, is based on the principle of changes in the magnetic properties of a particular metal alloy with a change in temperature.

We have started the production of the "Ramit" general-purpose laser treatment device which was developed by the intraindustry scientific and technological center "Medical Equipment." We are prepared to put in production a kidney stone lithotriphy installation "Urat-II" which does not require surgery. Already available scientific-technical developments borrowed from defense work are helping to design the therapeutic-diagnostic complex "Fotoscan," the "Reovit" device for restoring spontaneous heart activity, and a diagnostic set for analyzing background heart signals.

Developing an automated system of monitoring the ecological situation in Leningradskiy Rayon of the capital city is among our plans for the immediate future.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Under the influence of movies and a certain kind of literature, many people have developed the impression that workers and employees of defense industry enterprises rake in financial and social benefits using the shroud of secrecy and the lack of public control. Don't you laugh, this is a serious issue. How true is it? Is the fear to lose privileges going to be an obstacle to conversion?

[Kozlovskiy] The average salary at the enterprises of our industry in Moscow is 228 rubles.

[Arutyunov] We have 229 rubles.

[Mikhaylov] Two hundred and twenty-four rubles.

(All at the same time, interrupting each other) Our pioneer camp is built of timber, and we have just begun remodelling it... Not even a day rest facility is available... The infirmary is so shabby that you fear going there... The waiting list for housing is barely moving .. In our sphere, the same residual principle was in effect, everything was sunk into machinery, production, goods, and the human factor was not taken into account... It is the customers who had unrestricted credit lines—our budgets were tight... Economic accountability and conversion will help our collectives to better solve social problems and retain the personnel.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Our readers and your electorate are also concerned with the other side of the issue. The memory of 1941 is still fresh. Will we not be left without arms?

[Kozlovskiy] For us, this problem has been clearly solved. The security interests of our country take precedence. This priority remains firm.

[Adamov] Conversion does not mean disarmament.

[Arutyunov] We are talking about the "reasonable sufficiency" of armaments. Unfortunately, we have seen that an expense-oriented mechanism in the hands of the military carries the danger of an explosion for the economy. Defense expenditures should be put under the supervision of an authoritative commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Kozlovskiy] The commission may include people working in industry, scientists, diplomats. In turn, the military will have to justify and defend their concept of budgetary allocation for defense.

[Mikhaylov] We should learn to calculate the socioeconomic efficiency of conversion, and to remember about reconversion.

In many developed states, this is a customary phenomenon. For example, in Japan, the U.S. and FRG civilian industries (electronics, new materials chemistry, electrical engineering) have a higher potential than the defense industry. Over there, the government encourages reconversion. In our country, this phenomenon is practically absent, though we do have isolated cases. However, processes of reconversion in the USSR are a remote prospect. A combination of conversion and reconversion in their unity and inseparability is the sign of a healthy economy.

I believe it would be feasible to add the special chapter "Conversion" to the Moscow comprehensive territorial-branch program "Progress-95." In the absence of this chapter the program will be incomplete.

[Adamov] Finally, concluding remarks. The fact that at present, after the transition of virtually all enterprises to complete economic accountability and self-financing, we have to talk about a planned conversion of defense industry enterprises in itself testifies that the economic mechanisms are not working yet. In countries where management is performed only through economic methods enterprises specializing in defense production compete successfully in the [civilian] goods market at the same time.

Administrative steps should not be necessary in an environment of efficiently operating state orders for which enterprises compete rather than try to avoid them. Only a thoroughly thought-out and simultaneously implemented set of measures of economic restructuring will make it possible to solve these problems, and create the most powerful leverage of feedback in the economy based on the money-and-good relations.

For many years, it was convenient to saddle science with the blame for failures in various sectors of the national economy: scientific progress itself was substantially hampered when scientists were forced to handle "implementation" in which they did not belong. Even now we are still looking at an approximate equality of defense potentials. If we go on killing the pain rather than curing the disease we will lose this parity as well, and will not feed and house the people in a decent manner.

All social problems may only be solved through economic growth. At the transitional stage, conversion may help, but it is a tactic rather than a strategy. We should keep this in mind.

Leningrad 26 Mar Election Figures Published

PM1004141589 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 p 1

["Okrug Electoral Commission Report on the Results of the 26 March 1989 Elections of USSR People's Deputies"—LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] For Lenigradskiy Rural National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 19, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]:
There were 3,620,760 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 2,745,791 voters (75.8 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidate were:

	For	Against
BOLSHAKOV	1,345,389	1,397,931
Aleksey Alekseyevich	(49.0 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 2,471.
On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Leningradskiy Rural National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 20, RSFSR:
There were 3,269,548 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 2,661,798 voters (81.4 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
YERMAKOV	1,095,528	1,458,433
Viktor Fedorovich	(41.2 percent)	
OBOLENSKIY	1,241,495	1,306,466
Aleksandr Mitrofanovich	(46.9 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 107,837.

On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 46:

There were 165,539 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 117,188 voters (70.8 percent) took part in the voting.

The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
MELNIKOV	59,826	52,655
Aleksandr Ilich	(51.1 percent)	
SINTSOVA	36,545	75,936
Galina Genrikhovna	(31.2 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 4,707.

On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Aleksandr Ilich MELNIKOV, ship hull assembler at the Leningrad Admiralteyskiy Association, CPSU member, who lives in Leningrad, is elected USSR people's deputy for Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 46.

For Vasileostrovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 47:

There were 266,790 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 206,232 voters (77.3 percent) took part in the voting.

The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
NIKIFOROV	36,768	163,591
Yuriy Aleksandrovich	(17.8 percent)	
PODOBED	32,826	167,533
Sergey Mikhaylovich	(15.9 percent)	
RACHIN	37,295	163,064
Vladimir Gennadyevich	(18.1 percent)	
SOBCHAK	86,440	113,919
Anatoliy Aleksandrovich	(41.9 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 5,873.

On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Vyborgskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 48:

There were 329,227 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 244,206 voters (74.2 percent) took part in the voting.

The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
IVANOV	83,717	149,897
Sergey Aleksandrovich	(34.3 percent)	
KASHIN	51,151	182,463
Valentin Pavlovich	(21.0 percent)	
PETROPAVLOVSKIY	77,482	156,132
Valeriy Sergeyevich	(31.7 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 10,592. On the basis of Article 60 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" there will be a runoff in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the largest number of votes.

For Kalininskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 49:
There were 200,006 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 150,312 voters (75.2 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
DEMIDOV	69,615	75,130
Aleksandr Illarionovich	(46.3 percent)	
MAKHOV	12,280	132,465
Aleksandr Vasilyevich	(8.2 percent)	
SMIRNOV	56,053	88,692
Vladimir Petrovich	(37.3 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 5,567. On the basis of Article 60 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" there will be a runoff in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the largest number of votes.

For Politekhnicheskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 50:
There were 176,708 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 128,854 voters (72.9 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
DENISOV	62,635	60,044
Anatoliy Alekseyevich	(48.6 percent)	
IVANENKO	32,164	90,515
Tatyana Nikolayevna	(25.0 percent)	
CHURKOV	21,201	101,478
Leonid Aleksandrovich	(16.5 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 6,175. On the basis of Article 60 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" there will be a runoff in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the largest number of votes.

For Kirovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 51:
There were 278,630 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 221,965 voters (79.7 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
STESHOVIKOV	97,962	117,039
Gennadiy Petrovich	(44.1 percent)	
KHARCHENKO	95,281	119,720
Viktor Ivanovich	(42.9 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 6,964. On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Kolpinskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 52:
There were 224,728 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 183,082 voters (81.5 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
ZVEREV	50,622	127,324
Valeriy Aleksandrovich	(27.7 percent)	
KHODYREV	65,453	112,533
Vladimir Yakovlevich	(35.8 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 5,096. On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Krasnogvardeyskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 53:
There were 263,758 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 192,462 voters (73.0 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
BYKOV	102,446	82,210
Gennadiy Vasilyevich	(53.2 percent)	
MELSITOV	62,700	121,956
Ivan Pavlovich	(32.6 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 7,806. On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Gennadiy Vasilyevich BYKOV, fitter and assembly team leader at the I.I. Lepse "Znamya Truda" Accessory Building Science and Production Association, CPSU member, who lives in Leningrad, is elected USSR people's deputy for Krasnogvardeyskiy Territorial Okrug No 53.

For Moskovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 54:
There were 252,713 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 195,496 voters (77.4 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
BOLDYREV Yuriy Yuryevich	145,274 (74.3 percent)	45,243
GERASIMOV Anatoliy Nikolayevich	38,593 (19.7 percent)	151,924

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 4,979.
On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Yuriy Yuryevich BOLDYREV, senior engineer at the Central Scientific Research Institute for Ship Electrical Engineering and Technology, CPSU member, who lives in Leningrad, is elected USSR people's deputy for Moskovskiy Territorial Okrug No 54.

For Nevskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 55:
There were 320,602 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 244,652 voters (76.3 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidate were:

	For	Against
SOLOVYEV Yuriy Filippovich	109,616 (44.8 percent)	133,453

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 1,583.
On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Petrogradskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 56:
There were 277,801 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 199,943 voters (72.0 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates [as published] were:

	For	Against
GIDASPOV Boris Veniaminovich	110,948 (55.5 percent)	88,473

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 9.
On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Boris Veniaminovich GIDASPOV, general director of the "Gosudarstvennyy Institut Prikldanoy Khimii" Science and Production Association, chairman of the broad of the "Tekhnokhim" Intersector State Association, CPSU member, who lives in Leningrad, is elected USSR people's deputy for Petrogradskiy Territorial Okrug No 56.

For Primorskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 57:

There were 312,200 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 247,864 voters (79.4 percent) took part in the voting.

The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
LUKYANOV Gennadiy Pavlovich	41,592 (16.8 percent)	197,851
PETROV Vitaliy Valentinovich	66,397 (26.8 percent)	173,046
SYCHEV Yuriy Petrovich	117,385 (47.4 percent)	122,058

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 8,421.

On the basis of Article 60 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" there will be a runoff in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the largest number of votes.

For Smolninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 58:

There were 240,342 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 177,089 voters (73.7 percent) took part in the voting.

The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
NIKOLSKIY Boris Nikolayevich	85,256 (48.1 percent)	85,956
SKATOV Nikolay Nikolayevich	12,964 (7.3 percent)	158,248
FADDEYEV Lyudvig Dmitriyevich	64,505 (36.4 percent)	106,707

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 5,877.

On the basis of Article 60 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" there will be a runoff in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the largest number of votes.

For Frunzenskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 59:

There were 311,536 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 238,235 voters (76.5 percent) took part in the voting.

The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
KABAKOV	147,118	82,465
Viktor Stepanovich	(61.8 percent)	
FATEYEV	62,280	167,303
Anatoliy Mikhaylovich	(26.1 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 8,562.
On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Viktor Stepanovich KABAKOV, rector of the Leningrad Engineering-Economic Institute named for Palmiro Togliatti, CPSU member, who lives in Leningrad, is elected USSR people's deputy for Frunzenskiy Territorial Okrug No 59.

For Volkhovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 60:
There were 223,186 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these 191,913 voters (86.0 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
POPOV	68,708	116,997
Nikolay Ivanovich	(35.8 percent)	
SOTNIKOV	101,829	83,876
Nikolay Ivanovich	(53.1 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 6,208.
On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Nikolay Ivanovich SOTNIKOV, director of the Leningrad ceramic articles plant, CPSU member, who lives in Leningrad, is elected USSR people's deputy for Volkhovskiy Territorial Okrug No 60.

For Vyborgskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 61:
There were 325,072 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 280,682 voters (86.3 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
BYSTROVA	99,843	170,998
Lyudmila Fedorovna	(35.6 percent)	
CHEDLEYEVA	125,264	145,577
Olga Ivanovna	(44.6 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 9,481.
On the basis of Article 61 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" repeat elections will be held.

For Gatchinskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 62:
There were 248,378 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 208,043 voters (83.8 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidate were:

	For	Against
STOUMOVA	137,319	70,587
Galina Ivanovna	(66.0 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 137.
On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Galina Ivanovna STOUMOVA, chief of the stockraising shop on the "Gatchinskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz], CPSU member, who lives in Bolshiye Kolpany Village, Gatchinskiy Rayon, CPSU member, is elected USSR people's deputy for Gatchinskiy Territorial Okrug No 62.

For Kingiseppskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 63:
There were 198,142 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 171,031 voters (86.3 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidate were:

	For	Against
BELYAYEV	149,040	21,985
Vitaliy Sergeyevich	(87.1 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 6.
On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Vitaliy Sergeyevich BELYAYEV, machine operator on the "Gomontovo" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, who lives in Begunitsy Settlement, Volosovskiy Rayon, CPSU member, is elected USSR people's deputy for Kingiseppskiy Territorial Okrug No 63.

For Tikhvinskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 64:
There were 216,275 citizens on the electoral roll. Of these, 182,054 voters (84.2 percent) took part in the voting.
The number of votes cast for the candidates were:

	For	Against
PASYNKOV	62,778	112,414
Lev Nikolayevich	(34.5 percent)	
SOKOLOV	99,038	76,154
Viktor Ivanovich	(54.4 percent)	

The number of ballot papers deemed invalid was 6,862.

On the basis of Article 55 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" Viktor Ivanovich SOKOLOV, deputy chief mechanic at the "Transmash" Plant, CPSU member, who lives in Tikhvin City, is elected USSR people's deputy for Tikhvinskiy Territorial Okrug No 64.

[Signed] Okrug Electoral Commissions for Leningradskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 19 and Leningradskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug No 20, RSFSR; Okrug Electoral Commissions for Leninskiy, Vasileostrovskiy, Vyborgskiy, Kalininskiy, Politekhnicheskiy, Kirovskiy, Kolpinskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, Moskovskiy, Nevskiy, Petrogradskiy, Primorskiy, Smolninskiy, and Frunzenskiy Territorial Electoral Okrugs Nos 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, Leningrad; Okrug Electoral Commissions for Volkhovskiy, Vyborgskiy, Gatchinskiy, Kingiseppskiy, and Tikhvinskiy Territorial Electoral Okrugs Nos 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, Leningrad Oblast.

Ukraine Hosts Conference on Interethnic Relations
LD0704181689 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Ternopol April 7 TASS—A regional scientific workshop, concluded in the Ukrainian city of Ternopol today, considered topical issues of the theory and practice of developing inter-ethnic relations in the Soviet Union.

The conference, organised by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was attended by party functionaries, social scientists and lecturers from Moscow, Leningrad, the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia and Baltic republics.

They heard reports about problems in inter-ethnic relations and ways of improving these relations.

Speakers noted that there had accumulated many problems in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations in the conditions of perestroika and democratisation.

The 19th nationwide party conference exposed causes of the aggravation of these relations in several regions.

Speakers stressed that a high culture of inter-ethnic relations should be shaped to unite fully the Soviet multi-ethnic society.

The regional conference was held in keeping with a plan of preparations for the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee plenum which is to discuss the question of perfecting inter-ethnic relations and adopt major decisions on this subject, newsmen were told by Yuriy Yelchenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

"The conference was held in an atmosphere of openness and candour and was often marked by keen debate," he said.

"Of special to its participants was the discussion of problems related to constituent republics' sovereignty, and national and cultural development, specifically expanding the sphere of application of national tongues and introducing bilingualism with the Russian being one of the languages," Yelchenko said.

Proposals and recommendations made at the conference will be summarised and submitted to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Chernobyl Area Measures, Radiation Levels Reported
LD0904203289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1928 GMT on 7 April in its "View" program carries a report on the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES]. The video shows Vladimir Politkovskiy, reporting from the area, say that the 'View' program has been given permission to film inside the 'sarcophagus' of the nuclear station. Inside the nuclear power station building, Politkovskiy talks with I.N. Kamulov, chief of the comprehensive expedition under the Atomic Energy Institute. Both men are wearing overalls and are wearing face masks around their necks.

Kambulov describes the scene, saying "this is the block control board number four, where all this actually started—that is, from the controls of this board the reactor was brought to the state that you have seen. During 1988 our work and the research carried out here clearly give grounds for stating that this installaton is safe in nuclear terms. There are a great many rumors and radiation phobia." He continues: "The important thing is that the information that comes from here should be trustworthy, but we are working to ensure that safety is guaranteed. As yet we have no figures whatsoever. We keep a very close eye on emissions and keep an eye on the state of the building. As yet we have no grounds whatsoever for stating that there are emissions of enhanced danger connected with the state of the installation, the shelter." Video shows a digital radiation meter reading: 566.4. A voice says "normal."

The film then cuts to "News Conference on Ecology—Ukrainian Ministry of Health," idenfified by screen caption. A number of officials are shown seated before assembled journalists. Against the background noise an exchange takes place between Politkovskiy and an official. The official says that a special news conference has been held on Chernobyl. Politkovskiy asks about the number of children of pre-school age living the 30km zone. The official replies that there are over 1,100 people, according to recent figures. He insists these are

adults, not children. An unidentified woman says that in the summer of 1988 the number of children in the zone reached 401, but that only eight were counted on a January visit.

An interview then follows between Politkovskiy and M.P. Umanets, director of the Chernobyl AES. Politkovskiy asks, "What about your situation here now? Do you often have to—are you forced to tell untruths? I always say what I think, first of all. I believe in what I say. Politkovskiy then asks "You came from the Leningrad station, correct?" Umanets replies in the affirmative. Politkovskiy says "I know that there was an accident there too, but it was kept secret at that time, that is, the aftermath of the accident, and how it happened. There is a view that if there had not been such secrecy about this accident there would not have been an accident 3 years ago in Chernobyl." Umanets then states, "The people of Chernobyl know about the reasons and results of this accident.

Politovskiy later asks Umanets what he believes will happen in the Chernobyl area, to which Umanets replies, "There can probably be no question, in my view, of people living here normally in the very near future, or at least in my lifetime. That is clear-cut. It is impossible, that is, to return women and children here and set up kindergartens and live a normal life. One can already say new generation reactors are being designed in our country today. They are more reliable in their fundamental approaches."

Video next shows Politkovskiy in the countryside; the screen caption reads: 30km zone. A man in an Army uniform is shown taking a radiation reading over 100 breakdowns ("sto raspedov"); he reports that the level here is twice that set for those living here temporarily, and says there are no people living permanently in the 30km zone.

The Army officer is shown taking another reading, saying that pollution levels are 10-15 times higher than the permitted norms. He notes that this will give rise to illnesses of various degrees, cancer, and radiation sickness.

The film cuts to Pripyat, where I.I. Fedotov, chief engineer of the "Kompleks" enterprise, shows the difference in tree seedlings that have been exposed to radiation and control seedlings next to them. The report returns to the interview with Umanets. Umanets and Politkovskiy discuss radiation levels. Umanets says, "There is no ban in our country on every person knowing his radiation dose. There is simply a shortage of good radiation dosimeters in industry today; this is an absolute fact."

The film cuts to shots of a sand bank with a nuclear warning sign. M.P. Telyatnikov, identified by screen caption as lieutenant colonel of the internal service and USSR Hero, talks about those affected by radiation sickness and about victims' rights in seeking damages in the courts for their suffering.

After a brief clip of people watching a film at the Chernobyl "Stalker" Youth Center, there is another interview. Yu.N. Shcherbak, writer, USSR people's deputy, says: "There is still a very great deal that we do not know about. We do not know who gave the command for information to be suppressed. We do not know all these secret mechanisms, and who is responsible. We do not know who decided, nonetheless, to hold the 1 May parade in Kiev. This has been hidden hitherto in safes. There are definitely people who know this. They have still not told the truth. I think that in the future we shall have to return to this topic more than once. If, for example, the set is shut down, for some elementary technical reason—the shutting down of a set occurs more frequently now—catastrophic rumors spread that something has happened there. I cannot understand why a station 100km from Kiev cannot report that the first set has been shut down for routine maintenance. This is an elementary matter. This is not said; this is not reported. There have been all sorts of rumors in connection with the sarcophagus. You have been there and you know that there is a crack in the building there. But let us say openly that this does not mean that it will collapse tomorrow. But it means that we have to have some sort of concept of what we should be doing with the sarcophagus and the building of the fourth set. Rumors are emerging from here." He goes on to say that he thinks the Chernobyl anniversary date should be more solemnly marked.

The film moves to the 10km zone, burial ground, which is identified by screen caption. An interview follows there with V.M. Starodumov, director of the specialized decontamination enterprise "Kompleks," about the scientific value of this zone.

The video then returns to the studio, where Politkovskiy says the Ministry of Health's interdepartmental council allowed him to see a copy of a Ministry of Health letter, numbered U-261-7-S, dated 27 June, 1986, which discusses strenghthening secrecy procedures in fulfilling work on eliminating the effects fo the Chernobyl accident. He says, "Point 4: Classify as secret information on the sickness rate. Point 8: Classify as secret information about the results of treatment. Point 9: Classify as secret information about the degree of the radiation injuries among the staff that took part in eliminating the aftermath of the accident. People want to know, you see, they want to know. There are a number of governmental decisions from the Council of Ministers about benefits. It turns out that here in the country of shortages, I mean both medicine here and the benefits themselves, in the country of shortages benefits are a secret." Two studio guests, Ernest Anitistov, a doctor of law, and Konstantin Raykin, give their reaction to the Chernobyl feature and deplore the fact that people are so ill-informed about the

dangers of radiation. Anitistov calls on the local authorities to intervene and protect the health of children in particular. Finally, Politkovskiy says he intends to return to the area as his duty as a journalist and he hopes for changes for the better soon.

Ivanovo Women End Hunger Strike Over Church Status
LD1104103189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0947 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Ivanovo (Central Russia) 11 Apr—Anatoliy Frankovskiy, TASS correspondent, reports:

The four women who endeavored to get the town authorities to hand over to believers the central church of the town, the Church of the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, have ended their hunger strike. A statement they issued says, in particular: "We are not fanatics and we do not set ourselves the goal of killing ourselves. We believe that the public will not let our request be consigned to oblivion."

The conflict over the church began several months ago. Built at the beginning of the 20th century, this impressive, five-domed religious building was turned into the repository of the state archives in the 1930's, when many churches in the country were closed.

In autumn of last year, when the second community of orthodox Christians came into being in the town, its members asked for the Church of the Presentation to be handed over to them. They reckoned that the church would be rid of the archive, for which a special building has been erected. The believers' request was supported by the Council on Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, which monitors observance of legality in relations between religious and state establishments.

But the Ivanovo authorities, leaning on the letter of the law, which gives local authority bodies the right to decide on such issues, in fact refused to satisfy the parishioners' request. It was that situation which led to the action by the believers.

The action of the four, who embarked on their desperate step 3 weeks ago, agitated the town of 500,000 people. The overwhelming majority of the public was sharply critical of the town authorities. USSR people's deputies also became involved in the discussion.

As a result of such a widespread reaction, the executive committee of the oblast soviet of people's deputies reviewed its position. It was decided at a session on Monday evening to form a working group tasked with producing in the near future proposals for handing the church over to believers.

The participants in the hunger strike are now in the hospital under the supervision of doctors. The lives of the women are out of danger, and they are being given the help necessary to prevent negative consequences of the prolonged starvation.

Danger of Landslides in Caucasus 'High'
18240128c Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Mar 89 p 4

[Weather Report: "USSR Hydrometeorological Center Reports"]

[Text] The warm weather in the North Caucasus and Western Georgia have resulted in massive landslides in the Chechen-Ingush, Abkhaz, and Adzhar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. There is damage. The warm weather will continue in these areas during the next few days, and the snow is melting in the mountains. The danger of landslides remains high.

Landslide Damage in Chechen-Ingush Described
18240128d Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by S. Lorsanukayev, SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent: "In the Path of Insidious Landslides"]

[Text] A lowering sky hovers over the mountains. A drizzling rain is pouring down. The foothills of the Main Caucasus Range are covered by a gray muslin woven of water and fog. Our "UAZ-vehicle," rumbling with a strain, covers kilometer after kilometer but soon gets bogged down in the clay mush. A tracked tractor, on 24-hour duty on the road leading to the village of Engenoy, comes to our rescue. The village has suffered a natural disaster—heavy landslides are raging in the mountains of Chechen-Ingush.

Alarming information about the damage continues to come in from Nozhay-Yurtovskiy, Vedenskiy, and Sovetskiy rayons. The past winter proved to be abundant with snow. The snow cover in the mountainous regions reached 3 or more meters. Now, with the onset of the fine spring days, the snow mass has begun moving, and the saturated soil has also begun shifting. Literally overnight the farmstead of Pachuy, where about 300 livestock breeders and machine operators lived, disappeared.

"At night, a cold rain fell, and snow came down in heavy flakes. Our house began to shake," says M. Danayeva, a kolkhoz (collective farm) worker at the Nuradilov Kolkhoz. "The earth reared up and carried the house toward the ravine."

The woman had time to grab her young children and run into the yard. The house collapsed behind them. Others on the farmstead also quickly abandoned their houses. During this time, they saw how the near slope of the mountain shook with a deafening roar, having begun to

slide swiftly. A menacing 30-meter precipice arose in front of the farmers. They crossed it with the help of oilmen and managed to save the people and livestock.

The landslides have caused a lot of trouble in the village of Tsentoroy. When we arrived there, we encountered ruins and a solid puddle of clay. On the east side of the village, a river of clay was flowing over the gentle slope. It carried with it piles of bricks, logs, and smashed roofing slate. The several homes that remained were flat on the ground.

At night on 27 March in the village of Chechel-Yukh, an 8-year-old school, a library, and a club were destroyed; electric power lines were broken. Ten houses were destroyed. The natural disaster hit the villages of Engenoy, Enikali, and Tsa-Vedeno particularly hard.

In the village of Engenoy, 380 houses were completely destroyed. The residents were evacuated. According to preliminary estimates, in 34 populated areas of Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon, about 1,000 residential houses and 70 km of hard-surface roads have been destroyed or made unusable. More than 4,000 people here and a total of more than 30,000 in all the mountainous areas of the republic have been left without a roof over their heads.

In the same Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon, 5 schools, 11 medical institutions, and kindergartens have been knocked out of commission.

But the people have met the disaster with organization and courage.

"We had the first inkling of the landslides on 1 March," says A. Kudusov, chairman of the Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayispolkom. "This is the first time we have encountered such a phenomenon. But we were not left by ourselves in trouble in this difficult situation. Residents of Groznyy and other rayons of the autonomous republic came to our aid. Friends from fraternal Dagestan are helping. Residents have been evacuated from the disaster area. All-terrain vehicles have been sent into the most difficult places."

The situation in the disaster area was thoroughly analyzed at a meeting of the Chechen-Ingush Obkom Party Bureau; a state commission has been created to deal with the after-effects of the disaster. Special attention has been given to relocating people in a timely manner. They are being given material assistance.

The disaster area was visited by Army General V.L. Govorov, deputy USSR minister of defense, and M.A. Kerimov, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. The military has allocated tents, field kitchens, and motor vehicles for the areas hit by the disaster.

Restoration work is being carried out at a stepped-up pace. There were no casualties. Because of the rapid melting of the snow, the population has been warned that the danger of disaster is not over. Everyone should be on guard.

Estonian KGB Chief Interviewed on Role, Policies

PM0604143589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General K.Ye. Kortelaynen, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB and candidate USSR people's deputy, by V. Ivanov: " 'Clearly Defining the Power and Rights....'"; no place or date of interview given; first four paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] **The KGB.... A fair number of the most diverse opinions about this department are "circulating" today. Some virtually without reservation perceive the KGB as almost the sole panacea for all current misfortunes for which "dissidents" are to blame. Others, equally unreservedly, speak of the committee as a strictly punitive organ.**

Probably, as always when assessments go to extremes, neither side is correct. The famous Academician Andrey Sakharov, for example, who can hardly be suspected of harboring any special sympathy for the KGB, is nonetheless inclined to perceive the committee as virtually the only uncorrupted organization which, "thanks to its elitist nature," is capable of really countering the mafia's growing omnipotence.

Today the shroud of secrecy, which for a long time concealed the KGB's activity from view, is lifting. There are frequent statements by committee staffers in the mass media; the weekly NEDELYA published a full center spread comprising a selection of items about various aspects of the "competent organ's" range of concerns. It even (an unprecedented occurrence!) published the names, ranks, and photographs of KGB operations staffers. Another weekly—ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—regularly carries information on the KGB's activity.

The atmosphere of glasnost determined the range of questions which the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA editorial office addressed to Lieutenant General K.Ye. Kortelaynen, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] KGB and candidate USSR people's deputy.

[Ivanov] First of all: What does your election platform comprise; on what is it based?

[Kortelaynen] The platform's contents are based on the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 11th and 13th plenums. I perceive the following as questions of paramount importance for the republic and the USSR in the sphere of political reform: the problem of sovereignty and the nations' right to self-determination, and

distribution of powers between the republic and the USSR within the framework of Lenin's perception of federation, guaranteeing the autonomous solution of all vitally important questions at local level (except those which will fall within the powers of the USSR).

It is necessary to implement these ideas in our proposals to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the question of improving interethnic relations and in the draft Law on Republican Citizenship which takes into account the principle of citizens' equality before the law according to Article 34 of the USSR Constitution. It is equally important to continue the process of ensuring full power for the soviets. As a member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, I will continue to do everything within my power for the implementation of these provisions. If the voters put their high trust in me, I will also uphold my views in the country's supreme legislative assembly.

[Ivanov] How do you perceive the path of creating a rule-of-law state and the further democratization of Soviet society?

[Kortelaynen] First, it is necessary to hold discussions in the USSR Supreme Soviet and to adopt a common concept of Union legislation which would take into account the changes now occurring in the country and in the world. In addition it is necessary:
—to elaborate a comprehensive program for the struggle against crime (making provisions to supply law enforcement organs with modern scientific and technical facilities);
—to elaborate a law on safeguarding the USSR's state security, which would clearly define the powers and rights of KGB organs;
—to strengthen juridical guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms. To complete the rehabilitation of all illegally repressed persons with compensation for any damage caused to them.

I also believe that it is necessary to improve the forms and methods of KGB organs' activity by consistently implementing these fundamental principles: Work under the party's leadership, strictest observance of socialist legality, and expansion of ties with working people.

We support the activity of social movements and pluralism of opinion provided this does not run contrary to the principles of socialism and democracy—with the urgent need to consolidate the humanistic and moral foundations of socialism.

Any extremist actions which inflame interethnic discord, destabilize the situation, and apply the brakes to the solution of the problems of restructuring, thus playing into the hands of conservative forces, need to be unreservedly condemned.

[Ivanov] What is your attitude toward republican economic accountability?

[Kortelaynen] It seems to me that a real opportunity to actively solve all the accumulated socioeconomic, ecological, demographic, and other problems at both rayon and republic level actually emerges within the framework of Estonian self-management. I therefore believe that it is necessary to complete as soon as possible (without any haste, of course, and with the utmost attention to detail) the elaboration, broad discussion, and introduction of republican economic accountability. In this process it would be expedient, proceeding from an awareness of socialist and universal human values, to recognize all forms of public and private ownership, ruling out man's exploitation of man and ensuring social justice.

I would also like to dwell in particular on a "detail" like the protection of the interests of all social groups of the population—and not "in general" but in strictly specific forms. For example, helping to ease regulations in the city of Paldiski and access to the sea for residents in coastal rayons, creating a cultural center in Kharyuskiy Rayon, opening a secondary school in Klooga.... Should I be elected deputy, I will apply all my efforts to accomplish these tasks and to protect working people's interests at rayon, republic, and union level alike.

[Ivanov] Karl Yefremovich, you spoke about the need to rehabilitate all those who were illegally repressed—with compensation for any damage caused. What is being specifically done for this purpose in the Estonian SSR KGB?

[Kortelaynen] It is well known that persons exiled from Estonia in 1949 as kulaks were rehabilitated in May 1988 by virtue of a republic Council of Ministers resolution. All other exiled persons were rehabilitated by virtue of the Estonian SSR Law (dated 7 December 1988) on Extrajudicial Repressions. As for those who were repressed under criminal cases by "Special Board" decisions, they were rehabilitated by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 16 January 1989. This procedure does not cover certain categories of repressed persons—traitors to the motherland during the Great Patriotic War, Nazi criminals, gangsters, and criminal offenders. It is, after all, understandable that in addition to innocent victims there were also those who fully deserved their punishment.... Their cases, as well as cases involving so-called counterrevolutionary crimes heard by the courts, are now being reviewed by prosecutor's office organs. In the event of an unlawful verdict in a given case, the prosecutor files an appeal to the court which makes the final decision.

In the event of a case requiring additional inquiries, the prosecutor reopens the investigation, which may be assigned to investigators from state security organs. On the completion of the additional inquiries, the case file is submitted to the prosecutor's office to make a decision.

And now, a direct answer to your question. This procedure was used by the Estonian SSR KGB in 1988 to inquire into cases involving 242 persons, and proposals for rehabilitation were filed on 160 of them.

For purposes of comparison: During the preceding 8 years (1970-1987) [dates as published], cases involving 502 persons were examined and 224 of them were rehabilitated....

I would like to specifically emphasize yet again: In my opinion, assessments of the past must be approached with the utmost objectivity, comprehensively, with due consideration for the real historical conditions, without diminishing our society's achievements, and in no circumstances adopting a disrespectful attitude toward war and labor veterans.

[Ivanov] And what is the KGB organs' involvement in examining the question of compensation for damages to persons who suffered in the mass repressions?

[Kortelaynen] Justice must be restored to the fullest possible extent. Our representative on the republic Council of Ministers working group participated in the elaboration of the draft resolution on compensation for damages to rehabilitated persons. This resolution was adopted by the republic government 20 February last. The act makes it incumbent upon the Estonian SSR KGB, upon request from rayon and city soviet executive committees, to submit all documents concerning the expropriation or confiscation of property from rehabilitated persons.

I should like to take this opportunity to clarify a point concerning your newspaper's publication of an ETA report entitled "Step Toward Justice" (24 February last), which said in particular: "In order to file a request for the return of property or compensation for it with the appropriate soviet executive committee, citizens must attach to the relevant application a rehabilitation certificate which is issued to repressed persons and their heirs by the Estonian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and KGB."

This contains an annoying inaccuracy: The KGB DOES NOT ISSUE such certificates (and this, by the way, is clearly stated in Article 19 of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers resolution published in the same issue of the newspaper). Such certificates on criminal cases are issued by the Estonian SSR Prosecutor's Office.

[Ivanov] Karl Yefremovich, what could you tell our readers who would like to know about the process of declassifying KGB documents on the illegal repressions?

[Kortelaynen] It is necessary to clearly state that all documents and materials relating to those exiled are housed in the Estonian MVD archives. The KGB archives house criminal cases involving so-called counterrevolutionary crimes, which are currently being reviewed. Prosecutor's office and court officials can demand and obtain these case files within the set procedure.

Preparation for a Law on Archives is now under way. It is to be assumed that many questions will be resolved once this law is adopted.

[Ivanov] Nowadays, in various written and spoken statements, one frequently comes across proposals, and at times even demands, for the introduction of rigid and public [glasnaya] accountability by organs of the KGB, the MVD, and the Ministry of Defense to parliament (the supreme soviet of the republic or the country) or to some other government organ. What—and within what framework—can be done to implement such proposals? And what powers should be given to parliament for monitoring the KGB's activity?

[Kortelaynen] Under criminal and procedural legislation, investigations by KGB organs are fully under Prosecutor's Office supervision. The prosecutor also supervises questions concerning the KGB's administrative-legal activity. In criminal cases, verdicts are ultimately passed by the court. It is well known that the KGB works under the direct leadership of party committees at the appropriate level. It cannot, therefore, be said that there is no control over the KGB today.

A law on safeguarding state security is being currently elaborated, as I already mentioned. It will clearly define the powers and rights of KGB organs and their accountability. These questions, together with the safeguarding of state security, must fall within the power of the monitoring organ to be set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet when this law is adopted. There is no doubt that proposals by citizens and public organizations will be taken into account in this process.

The breaches of socialist legality committed in the activity of state security organs in the past are a burdensome legacy for today's heirs of the Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage [Cheka]. And even though I have held my present office for only 7 years (I served in the Border Guards before that), I do not decline moral responsibility for everything in which KGB organs have been involved.

Looking at history, one is amazed by the perspicacity of V.I. Lenin, who held that the extraordinary powers of the All-Russian Cheka organs were a temporary measure necessitated by the conditions of revolution and civil war. In the course of their reorganization in 1922 he insisted on limiting their powers, and especially on depriving the All-Russian Cheka of judicial functions. Illness prevented him from implementing his plans, and state security organs started gradually acquiring greater powers. Moreover, it must be emphasized that the mass repressions in

the thirties, forties, and early fifties were not a phenomenon associated only with the state security organs, but were part of the administrative edict system used to govern the country. It was a system created by Stalin and his entourage, who believed that man was only a means to attain a goal.

The party's principled assessment of the illegal repressions which resulted in the suffering of totally innocent people (including in our own republic) means that **there can be no political, juridical, or moral justification at all of these actions.** In this context, it is necessary to say that breaches of socialist legality are a thing of the past as far as the republic KGB is concerned. Nor will they be allowed to recur.

Committee staffers perceive it as their task to complete the work on rehabilitation of all innocent victims as early as possible. This is our duty to them and to the entire people. And on the sorrowful anniversary of 25 March we express our sincere sympathy to all victims of injustice and their relatives.

[Ivanov] And what is your opinion on the role and position of the mass media at the present stage of our society's development?

[Kortelaynen] It is hard to overrate their importance in the shaping of public opinion and the mobilization of society's efforts to solve the tasks facing the republic. I believe that the mass media are sufficiently actively involved in the process of restructuring, offering extensive coverage of vital problems and sore spots of our social development. At the same time, one cannot but be worried by the fact that the editorial offices of some newspapers, journals, and radio and television programs at times approach the publication of material offered to them without critically analyzing its content, and without adequately estimating the consequences it may have in the development of the republic's internal political situation. There are instances when a platform has been offered to individual irresponsible elements trying to compromise the processes of our society's restructuring.

It must be bluntly said that the buildup of tension between the two main national groups in the republic was furthered, in its own way, by the mass media's publication of individual articles disregarding the national feelings of a particular group of the population and at times directly infringing them.

I would like to hope that editorial offices and journalists will draw the appropriate conclusions from the prevailing situation and will display a sense of personal responsibility for the future development of the situation in the republic.

We all must firmly realize: There is not and there cannot be any alternative to consolidation.

Lithuanian Press Openness, Limitations Examined

LD0704130089 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 18 Feb 89, p 1

[Article by Virgilijus Savickas, entitled "If Francis Kafka Were To Come Back To Life...." under the rubric "Saturday's Tuning Fork."]

[Excerpts] Foreign newspapers are beginning to appear at newsstands. One sees English ones, and German ones. These are the dailies, THE GUARDIAN, (24 pages), INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE (14 pages), FINANCIAL TIMES, SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, and others. They have smaller circulation than KOMJAUNIMO TIESA; the cost, per single copy, is about a ruble in our currency. Their publishers have all the paper they want at their disposal, while their readers are able to obtain whatever type of information they desire.

Unfortunately, we have neither one nor the other. We are experiencing a paper shortage; information is often not yet necessary. Our newspapers—alas, are so thin—only four pages. Of course, one might comment here: If you don't like it—don't read it; one might likewise remark: If it doesn't taste good, don't eat it. However, "don't eat" indicates a diet. "Don't eat anything" adds up to a hunger diet. "Eat only identical food" will ruin your gall bladder, imposing another type of diet.... The situation with the press is similar. If you wish to discover what others think (not only about us, but also about themselves), you must know other languages, English, German, French, Japanese(!) If you don't know them, read our press. That also constitutes a diet, however. By spending two rubles per day of an average Soviet citizen's pay, you will have spent a fourth of your pay in a month's time. You don't earn enough? Read our press. To continue the food analogy, this becomes a diet of identical food....

Hence we find a paradox, but even in this age of news explosion an individual who is not provided sufficient NEW information loses over a period of time his creativity and in general his ability to live like a human being. We have lived without thinking about the future, without bothering our heads to consider how long our canned information would last. There existed strict regulations on what and how much was appropriate for our people to know, as well as what was to remain unknown. A similarly drawn out informational diet has brought about spiritual dystrophy among entire segments of society. Now, however, we have reached a time which leads us all to believe that we may yet get well. God help us, so to speak.

The informational diet has almost disappeared (I am not referring to freedom from censorship) but the diet circumstance remains. The norm of "know nothing" still remains, in spite of the era of openness.

I asked a salesgirl: "Do you have any soap?" She replied: "No, I don't," and "I don't know," to a question on when she would have some available. We have heard similar answers several times a day; I am not referring to my personal experiences, in particular.

Our consciousnesses are flooded with estimates information. Earlier, the thought would pass through our minds: No matter what happens, everything is fine here (..."world's best")—but now just the opposite is said: Everything is no good. Accounts of events are very poor; a FACT, unaccompanied by the primitive "we like it," will bring on a Cerber's [watchdog] shouted reaction: "But where is the position indicated!?"

There are some who become panicky simply in seeing news about life as it exists. According to the canons of stagnation, 10 lines of news should be comprised of nine-tenths position and the rest of information. Then, peace reigns. No one will find out about things one should not learn about. Nothing will be known at all. That will be a position of positions. We had already assumed such positions, for it appeared we had created something. We referred to it as "mature." Brighter intellects today call it "stagnation," and are searching for ways to leave it and to lead the nation away from it. The darker intellects, however, are holding fast, not wanting to learn anything new, and searching for positions which would permit them to keep THEIR OWN: the chair, privileges, dogmatic belief and rights to demogoguery, no matter what happens afterward.

[Passage omitted] Shortages in press and consumer goods still exist, but they are labeled as deficits. Why is poverty kept "secret?" By using the term "deficit," we relegate it to almost a scientific category that is supposedly a problem comprehended only by specialists, one that "we all will have to work out in unison" with those who created this deficit.

Here is what we are confronted by. From one direction we are urged not to be too hasty, not to jump to extremes, while from the other side we encounter revolutionary zeal to "tear the old world down" as fast as possible, lest disbelief in chances of restructuring set in. The situation appears to me, at times, similar to one where several people speak loudly but no one listens. Some wish to learn everything at once (publish archives; but how? Archives are held secret). Others wish to bring back the old order, believing everything will be fine then. Those who listen are only listening to themselves. This type of situation becomes threatening. Danger of total misunderstanding arises. It grows, as we go along deafened by our own trumpets. Instead of searching for actual truth, everyone sets forth only "his own truth." The sad reality is this "single truth" rests in the hands of those holding the power to enforce it (it does not matter whether physical or moral), even by using the press.... All this is apprehension, of course.

The press is also employed in skull-splitting. Stagnation proved how one string could play virtuoso music while a united choir of newspapers could harmonize the higher "voice of the people" part. [passage omitted]

Now we do have expressions of different opinions: the party (TIESA, SOVETSKAYA LITVA, CHERVONY SHTANDAR), the All Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] press, Sajudis press (ATGIMIMAS, MAZOJI LIETUVA, KAUNO AIDAS).

It is not really important whose newspaper it is, but what it prints. To my way of thinking, it is even more important to know, do we have a choice? What type of information does the public require, and are alternative sources of information available?

We could publish commodity prices and price index changes, as is published abroad, but why is that necesasary? When goods are not available in stores, their prices and price changes are not that vital. We buy them anyway. The problem rests in the fact that our people need goods, not prices.... We simply do not require the TYPE of information which helps other people to work and live better. Something we never cease to dream about.

We do not have a true source of information, as yet. Let's say, for instance, that TIESA and ATGIMIMAS publish an announcement on some government conference. If TIESA presents an ELTA version, but ATGIMIMAS provides a verbatim report of what a certain official said, the souce of information does not change. Different commentaries, but the same source. There exists no other. The official is the same person. One could do just the opposite: in place of the government conference, describe the food program fulfillment, citing students who are in the process of beet harvesting. This is NOT ON THE SAME LEVEL as the government meeting, however, making the source non-alternative.

Either way, it is difficult to portray in life something which does not yet exist. Talented artists have had the ability to portray such subjects. [passage omitted] It is a pity our problems are not of literary nature. A different remedy is required to raise up an individual. Novels will not help, even though lately many long, unpublished ones have been published, and are possibly responsible for endless discussions....

The Bible states 'First came the word.' The word is also needed, but let un not bedraggle it. Even with the most beautiful of words, let us believe them only insofar as they are supported by actions. [passage omitted] May actions, whether they be good or bad, first be decently appraised. Let truth be expressed first; positions can follow later.

[Passage omitted] Since last summer, or, to be exact, last fall, everyone's accomplishments have increased. Vilnius Archcathedral has been returned to the believers, Lithuanian monuments are being reconstructed, the "National Song" by V. Kudirka can be heard again, and in addition we have the tricolor and rehabilitation of those deported. February 16th is the national holiday. Many things exist for the good of our rebirth. These accomplishments need not be garnished by words. People look at them and rejoice. They expect new accomplishments, not words.

I would like to believe that we will see the end of the deficit era—not all at once, of course. We will get to see thicker, more varied newspapers untouched by censorship; we will then require all of the information utilized by the civilized world. Only then,will we be able to become unafraid—not only of reality improvement, as forecast by F. Kafka, but also of J.V. Stalin's resurrection.

Party Meeting Views Post-War Lithuania

LD0704091789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] An open communist party meeting was held in Vilnius yesterday [4 April]. The meeting was organized by the Lithuanian Writer's Union and the Historic Institute at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. The meeting discussed the questions concerning the situation in the society and literature in Lithuania in the post-war years. The writers and historians stressed in their speeches that in the post-war years, literature, science, and culture were forced to serve the dogmas which were alien to Lithuanian historical traditions and national features. In those years such books were written and published which are not read today. The (?renewal of) literature was being destroyed and [words indistinct] the truth about Stalin's dictatorship's introduction and consolidation in Lithuania was not alluded to. The enforced collectivization in this Baltic country was not even mentioned, either. The reprisals against innocent people were justified by the immoral and antihuman theory which was propagating the so-called growing struggle between classes.

The meeting's participants have adopted a resolution stressing the need to resolutely fight against the hostile-to-perestroyka forces. It is an open secret that there are lots of people who allegedly support Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka and the decisions of the 19th party conference, but who at the same time are in actual fact only interested in the restoration of dogmatism and in the preservation of their privileges. The meeting adopted a decision to see that judicial guarantees to exclude autocracy, coercion, and the previous tragedy of this nation should be enshrined in the Lithuanian Constitution. The participants also widely spoke about the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party and its role in the society's life. The adopted resolution stressed that the Lithuanian Communist Party has never been an independent party. Even after the 20th Soviet Communist Party's congress, which denounced Stalin's personality cult, the Lithuanian Communist Party was not able to fight against the Sovietization of Lithuania. The resolution also calls upon the Lithuanian Communist Party to accept its history and mistakes and make concrete steps to become an independent political party.

The decision adopted at the above-mentioned party meeting reads that the Lithuanian Communist Party should reject the myth of alleged monolithic unity and collectively healthy forces. At the same time, the party should make serious preparations for the democratic rivalry in the conditions of the multiparty system. The meeting participants are strongly convinced that the researchers, writers, and journalists should be allowed to have free access to all archives, especially those from the years of Stalinism.

New Morality Column Begins; On Stalin, Beriya

18300506 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 89 p 13

[Letter from V.N. Astrov and comments from Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Polikarpov; under the rubric "Confession"]

[Text]*Today we are beginning a new rubric. The title itself suggests the selection of materials to be published in it. First of all these are people's stories about themselves, their experiences, their spiritual sufferings, and the torments of their conscience. Why a person decides to engage in such a public discussion only he himself knows. And we are not his judges here. For us his confession is important as a deeply personal human document, as a direct testimony of modernity, as a living sign of the age. Therefore the editors are not setting themselves the task of verifying the information given in these articles or organizing the subject within any particular time frame. We think that those who lived during the tragic thirties and the confused times of the seventies, and also in our revolutionary day, will also have something to confess. Today we are publishing a letter to the editors from one of our oldest writers, V.N. Astrov, and a commentary from Doctor of Historical Sciences V.D. Polikarpov.*

How it Happened....

The question to which these brief reminiscences are addressed may seem purely personal, but in a situation of widespread glasnost it assumes social significance.

In the book by the American author Steven Cohen "Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution" I was mentioned as the only participant from the so-called Bukharin school who experienced Stalin's terror. For the sake of establishing the truth, I wish to say that I was the one who recalled what happened to me more than a half century ago.

My name means little to the modern readers and therefore I shall first say a couple of words about myself. In 1922 I was elected as a member of the All-Russian Central Bureau of Journalists. In that same year I entered the Institute of Red Professors. I completed it in 1926 and during 1927-1928 I was in charge of its history-party department. During 1924-1928 I worked on PRAVDA and in 1927-1928 I became a member of its editorial board. In 1926 I edited LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. From 1924 through 1929 I worked as a member of the editorial board of BOLSHEVIK (now KOMMUNIST). In 1924 I was a member of the delegation of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) [RKP(B)] to the 5th Congress of the Komintern.

During 1928-1929 I shared the views of the "right-wing opposition." In November 1929 I announced in the press my departure from the "right wing."

In February 1933 I was arrested and at the same time the Central Committee [TsKK] expelled me from the party, of which I had been a member since March 1917, and for 55 years since then I have been a Communist outside the party. I was publicly accused of being one of the organizers of the counterrevolutionary group of "Marxist-Leninists" and one of the co-authors of its platform ("Ryutin"). I was neither one, and I have not even read the platform to this very day. I learned only recently from articles published in the press that A.N. Slepkov and D.P. Maretskiy, with whom I worked at PRAVDA and BOLSHEVIK, had something to do with it. But at that time, in 1933, I knew only that they had been arrested in the autumn of 1932 and had been sentenced to 5 years in the special facility for political prisoners, while A.D. Zaytsev, A.Yu. Aykhenvald, several others, and I were arrested in 1933 and sentenced to 3 years, and after a year and a half the political prison was replaced by exile.

S.M. Kirov was killed on 1 December 1934. Stalin's repressive measures became more severe and at the end of 1936 I was arrested again. From Voronezh, where I had spent my exile, I was taken to Moscow.

This "re-investigation" can be understood and envisioned only by a person who can temporarily forget everything we now know about the crimes of Stalin and those close to him and can go back in his mind to those years when the majority of Soviet people continued to see in Stalin a staunch fighter for party unity which a country needs so much when surrounded on all sides by imperialism. And he must also be able to go back in his mind to the close solitary cell of the domestic prison of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD] in Lubyanka Square, where I spent several months of investigation and interrogation. They did not beat me or torture me, and nobody was even disrespectful to me, except for the incident with Yezhov which I shall mention below; but they demanded persistently, from day to day, from night to night, that I "tell of the terrorist activities of the right," stubbornly refusing to hear that I knew nothing about this!

Not long before that, G.Ye. Zinovyev and L.B. Kamenev in the August trial "confessed" to arranging the murder of S.M. Kirov by someone from the ranks of the opposition. During the trial one of the leaders of the "right," M.P. Tomskiy, shot himself; L.B. Kamenev, and at the next trial Yu. Pyatakov and K. Radek, gave testimony about ties that allegedly existed between N.I. Bukharin and followers of Zinovyev and Trotskiy (I had not seen them for 5-7 years). The newspapers I had read before being arrested were filled with demands to deal with the "terrorists."

Returning from the interrogations to my cell I tried to think through what had happened as calmly as possible. I could not deny that the opposition groups within the party, losing the support of the masses, inevitably slip into adventurism (policies that do not include the masses, as Lenin defined adventurism) when continuing the battle. This was confirmed for me not only by my experience in the fight against Trotskiyism, in which I participated actively in 1921 and during 1923-1927, and not only by the murder of S.M. Kirov by former Zinovyev opposition leaders, but also by one other circumstance that was essential for me at the time.

At the beginning of the thirties, being a party member, I was witness to drunken shouts among the "right": "Give me a revolver and I will shoot Stalin!", discussions of the need for a "palace" revolution, and so forth. I did not take these exaggerations seriously. But even in the 1933 investigation they came to the surface. Molchanov, an NKVD official at the time, called me from my cell and asked: Did Bukharin know about them? I answered that I had not told him about them and had not heard that anybody else had.

In 1933 the names of members of the Central Committee and the Politburo did not figure in the interrogations or the minutes. Things were different in 1936-1937: they were speaking directly about Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy. I said to myself that in politics one answers not only for himself but for the deeds of others who think as he does. The investigators for their part asserted that political "cases," especially those involving terror, where handled differently from "purely criminal" ones. Even in fighting against the autocracy I could not sympathize with socialist revolutionary tactics of individual terror, but here were terrorist attitudes within the party toward the party leadership. After all, I was not in the tsarist prison in Smolensk in 1915 where I, a 16-year-old boy, refused the demands of the police colonel Astafyev to confess to my participation in the underground circles at school; now I was being interrogated by Communists, the heirs of the Dzerzhinskiy Cheka groups who had been discussed in the party from time immemorial. There could be no doubt that the investigators were implementing party decisions: the NKVD people's commissar, Yezhov, was at the same time one of the secretaries of the Central Committee (or chairman of the Central Control Commission, I do not remember exactly). After S.M. Kirov's murder I thought that the party had

decided to put an end to terrorist tendencies within its ranks once and for all; while remaining a Communist within myself, I was obligated, required, and forced to carry out its decisions in keeping with party discipline.

I am now writing about myself as though I were another person—the times and I myself have changed so much. At that time I lived as though I were delirious from a fever; my thoughts ran around in circles in search of a way out. The outcome of recent trials has shown what might have ensued from the "confession" that was demanded of me and, obviously, other "right wing" members.

I am not writing this to justify the "tsaritsa of proof" of those times—slander and self-slander, which were not permitted under any circumstances—but in order to clarify the exceptional situation in which they became widespread at the time. I intend to discuss the psychological side of them in greater detail in my memoirs of all the 90 years of my life, which I have now begun to write.

I did not fully comply with the insistent demands of the investigators to tell them about the "terrorist" activity of the "right wing," but I did testify that we, the "right wing," including the leaders, having suffered defeat within the party, recognized it as permissible in principle to use terrorist methods in fighting against the party leadership in the future in the event that the political situation in the country were aggravated. Insofar as I recall, on the whole I was able to stay within this framework I had outlined for myself. I did not fabricate any terrible acts like espionage, plans for breaking up the Soviet Union, participation in the murder of S.M. Kirov, the attempt by N.I. Bukharin on the life of V.I. Lenin in 1918, or other accusations that figured at that time in the trial of the "right-wing Trotskiyite bloc."

A couple of days after I had signed these testimonies, the investigator who had interrogated me, Ya.N. Matusov, anticipating a harsh sentence, advised me to divorce my wife in absentia in order to protect my family (we had three children). I took his advice.

Everything turned out differently from what could have been expected. N.I. Bukharin, in a confrontation conducted by Yezhov in the presence of Stalin and other members of the Politburo—Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, and Ordzhonikidze—denied my testimony. And in the summer of 1937, much to my surprise, I was released.

When announcing to me the closing of my case, NKVD people's commissariat Yezhov said that he was following Stalin's personal instructions. "Thank Iosif Vissarionovich," he added. "I would not have shot you, but you would have stayed in prison."

Time showed the harsh sentence was only to be postponed for the 12 years I spent in freedom. Four of these were spent at the front: in July 1941 I volunteered for the home guard. I went to the front as a rank-and-file soldier in an reconnaissance company, and was discharged at the end of May 1945 with the rank of senior lieutenant.

In March 1949 I was arrested again and sentenced in absentia to 25 years in prison on the grounds of my testimony which in 1937 had served as grounds for my release. It played the role of a kind of delayed-action land mine.

After the 20th party congress, having spent seven and a half years in jail, I was released by a decision of the Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet in September 1956.

In 1957, when I was summoned to the Presidium of the Central Control Commission in connection with my petition to be readmitted to the party (for 55 years I had submitted such petitions repeatedly), I declared that I had never heard any "terrorist utterances" from N.I. Bukharin. This oral declaration had no consequences for me at the time. In April 1961 before the 22nd party congress, when, as one might have expected, the question of the possible rehabilitation of N.I. Bukharin was raised, I was invited to the CPSU Central Committee and after an oral conversation I submitted to the Central Committee two letters recanting my false testimony. Later the USSR Procurator rehabilitated me under the criminal policy because I had committed no crimes.

I was freed in 1956 with the novel I had written in prison "Fires Ahead." It was published in 1958 by the publishing house "Sovetskiy Pisatel"; in 1960 I was accepted into the USSR Union of Writers. My second novel "The Steep Grade" came out in 1966. It is devoted to the years of intraparty discussions (1921, 1923-1927). S. Cohen included both novels in the list of bibliographic sources for his book on N.I. Bukharin.

In conclusion, a couple of guesses as to why Stalin would decide to save my life in 1937. Of course these are only guesses. My testimony was not concrete enough; it was too general to used in the falsified trial: they required stronger "tobacco" there. It is possible that by the summer of 1937 they had already received a certain supply of this "tobacco" from the testimonies of other people under investigation.

A certain role could also have been played by my special position in the so-called Bukharin school. From the memoirs of A.M. Larina ("The Unforgettable," ZNAMYA, No 12, 1988) we know that this school "had to be destroyed." Yet Stalin knew that I was not a student of N.I. Bukharin and that the Zinovyev opposition included me in his "school" when before the 14th party congress I wrote articles against them in PRAVDA in December 1925.

The last circumstance, and also my solidarity with the "right wing" in 1928-1929, gave S. Cohen justification to unconditionally consider me a participant in the

"school." In reality my relations with Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin were fairly complex. With all my deep respect for him as a person and one of the leaders of the party, I disagreed with him on certain theoretical points, and almost a year before the 14th party congress I parted company with him politically because of his thesis concerning the need to "get along with Trotskiy" in the party. (The conflict was reflected in the novel "The Steep Grade" with the names of the students at the Institute of Red Professors changed).

The origin of the "Bukharin school" is linked to his teaching in 1919 at the "Ya. M. Sverdlov" Communist University. There he lectured a group of students and discussed with them the drafts of his future book the "Theory of Historical Materialism." But I never studied in the "Sverdlovsk group" and in 1919 I was editing the newspaper RABOCHIY PUT in Smolensk. I did not meet Bukharin until 1923, and Slepkov, Maretskiy, and other former members of the "Sverdlovsk group" in 1922.

Stalin could hardly have counted on my work as a historian and journalist for his glorification, but if he did he was to be disappointed. I have never published any dithyrambs to him either before or after 1937; in "The Steep Grade" I tried to depict him as I knew him before his personality cult (in the novel—before 1927). [Footnote: "Certain critical responses about Stalin's personality in the first edition of 'The Steep Grade' were left out in the editing of subsequent editions. (S. Cohen used the second edition of 1969)."]

Finally, one more consideration. Stalin saw in me a convenient opportunity to show his mercy and to deliberately set a precedent to which NKVD investigators could refer in the future when extracting the necessary testimony from people under investigation, as L.P. Beriya did in December 1938 when interrogating A.M. Larina. In her words, he said: "Astrov has helped us a good deal, and for this we spared his life." Beriya could not have had anything to do with my release in 1937, but in 1949 the NKVD actually was in his hands and I received a 25-year sentence.

The truth will not drown in water nor burn in fire. But I was severely punished for having departed from it. I am not speaking about prison; I survived prison and even wrote a novel. I am speaking about the tormenting awareness of the fact that my forced false testimony doomed me objectively to the role of an accomplice in the outbreak of repressive measures which I could not have anticipated. Hence the lesson for everyone living: Do not take a single step away from the truth, do not be like the blind person who cannot see the abyss under his feet. I am writing this in order to help modern youth to understand objectively and correctly what happened in our age.

Our happiness lies in the knowledge that the year 1937 with its terrible consequences is past and gone for good.

...How It Looks Today

The explosive force of the 20th party congress was not enough to destroy completely or even to bare the roots, the sources, of the Stalinist system, or to develop immunity to the destructive influence of its remnants, above all the spiritual world of the society. And there are many people of generations living today who have come out of the period of deep stagnation with crippled morals, with a befogged historical consciousness, if it has not been lost altogether.

The pages of the past, resurrected out of nonexistence, which are astonishingly tragic because of their unexpectedness in circumstances of official optimism, have come to be perceived by many as unhealthy sensationalism, as a malicious game of imagination. And the philistine mindset has rewarded them with cries of "processed facts," "black spots" instead of "white [blank] spots." They say that these "blank" spots come from the color used to depict uncharted continents on geographical maps. But do the blank spots not fall beyond historical memory—traces of the censor's arbitrariness, and are they not what explain best of all the origin of a timely metaphor?

Documents, the difficult access to which has always been the pain in the side of historians and literary scholars, can help to fill in the blank spots that have now been discovered. While hoping, however, that in the new stage of restructuring this pain will be alleviated, we shall nonetheless not exaggerate how monstrous it is.

In order to whitewash their own evil deeds Stalin's oprichniks [members of an administrative elite] have invented many methods of deceiving future generations precisely with the help of documents: they have pushed under the rug, for example, the trumped-up stories and slander about people in dungeons, extracted by torturing other victims of this same arbitrariness.

The late Gen A.I. Todorskiy, having returned from these same torture chambers, once told me: "Do not believe people who say that if a person's conscience is clear he will never submit to the hatchet men; even under torture he will not sign false testimony, especially against people who are close to him. They have used such fanatical torture—could the Inquisition of the Middle Ages be worse!—they have driven the people who have fallen into their hands to the point where they lose their memory, where their reason becomes clouded—and palmed off on them a 'novel' prepared to their own liking; and it is signed not by a person, but by someone who has lost everything human without understanding it."

And if subsequently, in court or in an investigation, the accused "lets them down"—denies the testimony that has been forced out of him through torture, the instructions were not to introduce the transcriptions of these interrogations. And another thing: Beriya demanded

that the statements of the accused concerning illegal methods of investigation not be recorded at all—and his accomplice in crime, Vyshinskiy, obediently informed him: A memo has been sent to the prosecutors.

These facts, which have been established by legal experts, one must assume, will give the historian a key for historical analysis of investigatory and judicial materials, without which it would be impossible to dispel the smoke screen that has been suspended over this era. But is this key universal? Will the historian always find in the archives of Stalin's dungeons the real meanings of the false testimony, and will he recognize what is false?

It is possible to evaluate in various ways the guilt of V.N. Astrov, who, as he admits, gave false testimony. First of all, one can make allowance for the fact that he paid for his falsehood through his subsequent life. But he, who did not experience physical torture, reveals to us some other, very little known, unrecorded jesuitic methods of moral pressure, which at the same time serve as an explanation, as it turns out, of why veterans of Lenin's party, revolutionaries who were not broken by the tsarist prison, fabricated who knows what about themselves.

"I am now writing about myself," reflects V.N. Astrov, "as if I were someone else—the times and I myself have changed so much." He writes in order "to clarify the exceptional situation" in which the moral corruption of the party and Soviet bureaucracy took place. He writes, perhaps mercilessly with respect to himself, revealing the "secret" of his testimony of 1937 which determined the postponement of his destiny. He admits that his forced false testimony doomed him to "the role of an accomplice" in the "terrible outbreak of repressive measures" which he could not foresee.

The essence of that same "exceptional situation" consists in the atmosphere of the bitter intraparty struggle, aggravated by unprincipled group biases and the rapid disintegration of party personnel from top to bottom. The threatening signs of these phenomena and the dangers of their deepening were perceived by the most politically sensitive and morally upstanding Bolsheviks within the ruling party as early as the twenties when they announced "the most terrible disintegration of the party and soviet apparatus, the suffocation of any kind of control of the masses, and the most terrible suppression, persecution, and terror, which play upon the life and existence of party members and workers" (Kh. G. Rakovskiy).

In those days this kind of perspicacity cost the life and honor of Rakovskiy, Ryutin, and Syrtsov.

V.N. Astrov explains that even when he was in prison he could not "interpret what had taken place." Following "party discipline" he internally took up the cross of solidarity with the "right wing," among whom he was included by Zinovyev's followers out of revenge for what he had written about them in the press, and it was on behalf of the "right wing" that he obediently confirmed that they could use "terrorist methods in fighting against the party leadership in the future." Equally obediently he filed for divorce in absentia "in order to protect his family." But neither this nor his voluntary participation in the war from the new prison paid off: the "queen of proof" played into the hands of Beriya's men in 1949 as well.

We learn all this from the letter from V.N. Astrov himself. In this case, can we rely completely on his current recollections? Obviously, only a comparison of his letter with other materials concerning his "case" will help to confirm or correct the evaluations of his behavior that are registered in the book by Steven Cohen and Robert Conquest. But Astrov's letter already makes it possible to ask questions of this kind. And this is valuable to us.

Astrov was not the "best known" representative of the "Bukharin school," as Cohen rated him. Astrov was one of those who, because of his work with Bukharin in party agencies, was a "promising" witness for Yezhov and Vyshinskiy for their accusations against Bukharin. His letter is a human document that has recorded what one might think would be a revolution which took place over the years, possibly not only in Astrov's soul, but also in others who were caught up in Stalin's net. His letter is one piece of evidence of the fact that they, the stooges, recruited "accomplices" and of the methods they used to extract "confessions" from them and make them participants in their crimes.

Astrov now brings us a confession motivated by a desire "to help today's youth to understand objectively and correctly what happened in our age." Of course, a confession is always biased to one degree or another. But in any case we must listen to Astrov. For regardless of how completely he revealed in his letter the facts of his biography of those years, we all must draw the proper lessons from what he has written.

Stalin's Dealings With Armenians Criticized

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[Text] While our people are presently care-laden and search their minds with anguish, the issues of emigration from Armenia and of reassembling Armenians as a nation have remained burning themes. Beyond the daily panel discussions, this issue is also being examined on other occasions in the press. (?in particular), the substantial increase in emigration over the recent years is causing considerable distress. This emigration is due to various causes. More than the natural desire for family and kin unification, there are social, economic, and other motives.

Professor Jora Mirzabekyan, who holds a chair at Yerevan's Polytechnical Institute, sees as reasons for the emigration those disillusionments which the Armenians

in Armenia and those who immigrated to Armenia experienced during the period of stagnation and the personality cult. He has written an article on this in SOVETAKAN AYASTAN. He has pointed out that the Soviet Union's relinquishing of those Armenian territories which Turkey had wrested from Armenia in 1921 by exploiting our country's weaknesses, had caused deep disillusionment. At the end of World War II, during the Potsdam Conference allies, the three major anti-Hitler coalition powers proposed the return of these territories to Soviet Armenia. That could have been done by denouncing and nullifying the 18 December 1925 Soviet-Turkish friendship and neutrality treaty, which had expired. The USSR People's Foreign Affairs commissar came forward at Potsdam with the demand that those territories which legally belonged to us be returned to our country on the grounds that the Armenians in the Soviet Union are the aggrieved party. The people's committee had declared that Turkey should return the Soviet Union's Armenian territories as that would be a just move. The issue was discussed at the conference a few times and was included in the minutes of the agenda. Despite this opportune moment, because of Stalin's hateful stance toward the Armenians and his pro-Turkish policy, the problem was not resolved and even the ownership of Kars, Ardvin, and Ardahan Provinces was questioned. Later on, this disillusionment deepened further as a result of Stalin's barracks socialism, the exiling of many immigrant Armenians to Siberia, and his discriminatory stand toward them.

Now, serious steps are being taken to transform our country into a legal state. The necessary conditions are present to prevent emigration and to reassemble our country as a nation.

The author of the article proposes the creation of a committee on national problems which, uniting the work of the Committee for Cultural Ties With Armenians Abroad, the Committee for Receiving and Settling Returning Armenians, and a number of other cultural and public organizations, could undertake major activities, such as reassembling the nation, political, financial, and [word indistinct] problems as well as educating and resolving the cultural problems of the Armenians living in differents parts of the Soviet Union. The professor has ended his article with Yegishe Charents' [prominent Armenian poet killed under Stalin's rule] meaningful tenet: "Armenian people! Your only salvation lies in your collective will."

Societal Obstacles to Restructuring Foreseen

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[Article by L. Ponomarev, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Shinkarenko, doctor of historical sciences: "There Is Happiness and Then There Is Happiness"]

[Text] **One recalls the judgment made by the eminent medical expert S. Fedorov at the 19th Party Conference: "I am not excited by the fact that the output of the cows there is up 16 percent. I am interested in how many people have begun to live better and become happier. The main way of evaluating our management system is the level of happiness of the people."**

He was right. The society must know which of its citizens are happy and which are not. This is extremely important in all respects. For the happiness of the people is not merely an indicator of our achievements. It is a mirror of our ideals. It is also a basis for the predictions of the directions and rates of further development. Finally, it is information for contemplating the real and potential motive forces of restructuring.

How many happy people do we actually have? Those who are definitely satisfied with their life? For whom, in their opinion, everything is basically all right both at work and at home? According to the calculations of sociologists of the Academy of Social Sciences [AON] under the CPSU Central Committee from an anonymous questionnaire given to 13,000 people, these people comprise 71.1 percent.

But who are these lucky people who have already achieved almost everything in their lives? Celebrated performers, well-known artists, eminent scholars? Nothing of the kind. Basically, they are the most ordinary people—rank-and-file engineers, employees, workers, kolkhoz workers, teachers. They live in Moscow and in Siberia, in the Ukraine and Belorussia, in the central non-chernozem zone and the Caucasus, in the Volga Region and the Far East. They live well and they are firmly convinced of this.

Perhaps they are right who say: if you want to be happy, go ahead. And that is all there is to it. No stress and no insomnia. It is probably no accident that certain sociologists regard such a perception of the world as a sign of a morally healthy foundation. But is this really the case? Are there not other, not very healthy, motives here as well? The happiness of the participants in the questionnaire seems somewhat strange. Judge for yourselves. The sociologists, for instance, ask: are you interested in restructuring? They answer: I am interested. But far from all of them answer this way—every other one. The further you go the more you learn. It turned out that only one-fourth of those questioned had personally become involved in restructuring. And three-fourths intended to continue in the future to work in the old way. In other words, they needed restructuring only if it would not require additional effort from them. Not a very attractive stroke in the portrait of happy people. Self-satisfaction has never added to anyone's attractiveness.

Today all of us, including participants in the questionnaire, can probably see that restructuring is becoming irreversible. It is directed toward fully revealing the humanistic nature and creative power of socialism. How? Mainly through the development of democracy and glasnost, self-management, and moral purification

of the society. All this, like the radical economic reform, will make it possible to reveal and develop man's creative capabilities and all the best in him.

From our numerous contacts with people and conversations we got the feeling that doubts are hidden in the hearts of many of the happy people of this kind. Restructuring is in progress. And suddenly there are changes, and will they pass these people by? Will they too suddenly have to do more work? Other people get the impression that the proponents of restructuring are breaking down an open door. "Everything is fine with me and my friends. In all respects. There are nothing but blue skies everywhere."

Here is something else that is remarkable. Two-thirds of the people questioned by the sociologists of the AON expressed no interest in the state of glasnost in the country. The entire country is concerned about the development of democracy and the state of glasnost, but some of our compatriots, as they say, do not give a damn.

And how does one fit all this in with the task of activating the human factor?

Of course such a question cannot be answered offhand. Herein, perhaps, lies one of the critical contradictions of the current renewal. For man really is the goal and the major motive force of restructuring. Man's advancement is not only for his own good but it is also a necessary condition for social progress. But the people themselves, are they always interested in having the society progress and develop? It would seem that it would be difficult to raise any doubt about that. But the results of the questionnaire about which we are speaking unequivocally show: many of our compatriots are completely satisfied with what has been achieved. They are happy and satisfied with their level of material and spiritual life—and this says it all. What is this if not the demoralizing influence of the times of stagnation, its entire atmosphere, which became a kind of ideological narcotic. For a long time people have been lulled to sleep by stories of how all is well and everything is in order with them.

The sugar-sweet story about what man needs and what he absolutely cannot do without lay at the basis of the political drivel which was passed off as the latest word in social progress. Many people gradually fell into social hibernation, became unaccustomed to hard work, and got used to living a carefree and easy-going life. They adapted to wage leveling and to receiving the same amount as everyone else, whether they worked or not.

Today, restoring the Leninist concept of socialism, the party is devoting primary attention to humanism. The new society was conceived by V. I. Lenin and his great predecessors, K. Marx and F. Engels, primarily as a system that will create for man the best conditions for his labor and life and will make it possible to reveal his creative powers. This is what Lenin had in mind when he emphasized how important it is under socialism to educate, train, and prepare people who are developed and prepared in all ways, people who are able to do everything. Socialism as Lenin interprets it does not dissolve the individual into the masses but, on the contrary, creates conditions for the harmonious combination of the personal and the social. Herein lies the greatest humanism of Marxism-Leninism. Herein lies the true humanism of restructuring, which requires that we restore the principles of scientific socialism in all their profound significance, in which man, not in words but in deed, becomes the major factor in material and spiritual development, its goal in itself.

Implementing what the party has earmarked is a matter of immense importance and extreme difficulty. And one of the reasons for the difficulty is that far from all of our compatriots like the idea of a sharp change in working conditions and life. A considerable share of the people, on the contrary, inherently avoid change. And yet restructuring means a time of harder work and social activity, a time of change. And all this is not for just a day; it is serious and will last a long time. Is it surprising that the slogans for restructuring have not yet inspired everyone?

The inertia of stagnation, of hibernation—this is an extremely deep inertia. It will not be easy to overcome it.

In his day V.I. Lenin made fun of the remnants of this disease among the emerging Soviet bureaucracy. "Yesterday I happened to read in IZVESTIYA a poem by Mayakovskiy on a political theme," he said. "I am not an admirer of his poetic talent, although I completely admit my incompetence in this area. But it has been a long time since I have experienced such pleasure from a political and administrative standpoint. In his poem he completely ridicules meetings and scoffs at communists, saying that all they do is meet and meet again. I do not know about his poetry, but concerning politics I guarantee that he is quite right."

Adherents of this "style" of work are thriving even today. The virus spread especially strongly during the years of stagnation. And there are many Oblomovs today as well. Having replaced the old Russian couches with imported ones, they do not wish to make any other changes. These are profoundly antisocial individuals. Sociological research shows that their attitude is mainly this: let the state satisfy the growing needs as quickly as possible!

And what about responsibility to the society? This problem, according to data of sociologists, bothers only 28.6 percent of the workers and 28.2 percent of the leaders of collectives. These are figures that cannot but alarm us. Only 14.7 and 17.7 percent of those questioned, correspondingly, are seriously interested in our social policy. More figures. Only half of those who responded to the questionnaire are bothered by problems of morality and one-third by questions of family relations.

The inertia of one or another part of any society is not a new phenomenon; sociologists have known about it for a long time. And for a long time it has been the subject of the most diverse speculations. Out of this soil grow all kinds of pseudo-theories by means of which conservative social forces try to "lull mankind into a blissful sleep." This is the kind of "line" that can be traced quite clearly through the years of stagnation. Today the party is actively fighting against it. But it is still too early to speak about success. During the course of restructuring and during the course of the discussions pertaining to its major motive forces, everywhere considerations are expressed which have nothing to do either with humanism or with the Leninist concept of socialism. They are considerations which essentially play into the hands of the bureaucracy which is hanging on to its commanding positions.

Every once in a while one sees coming to the surface some modification of the so-called elitist theory, whose proponents also reap the fruits of sociology. In the most general form their approach can be characterized as follows. The society deliberately divides into two unequal parts: on the one hand, the broad masses; on the other, the small number of elite. Why is this done? Most frequently so that people will believe that the wheel of history is in the hands of the elected. They say that at the "top" of the pyramid is the main motive force of progress, and the masses are merely the ones who do the work, and they themselves cannot influence the development of society. And this means that they should not be worried about where they are going. They can engage in purely personal matters.

Our bureaucracy which has not yet been eradicated also imagines itself to be the elite. Of course it cannot adopt the elite concept openly and assert as the prevailing ideology in the society. They profess it in secret, trying to insinuate this idea into the practice of socialism (with the hope of defending its "right" to privilege).

History teaches us that the elite approach is fruitless. To take this path means to be deceived. At one time in Russia this was the path of deception both for the populists and the proponents of anarchism, who thought that all the "heroes" had to do was start and the "crowd" would follow them immediately. History has not forgiven them for this delusion. The real heroes were people of absolute moral purity who raised the banner of the fight against autocracy, and they did not receive support from the people for whose happiness they martyred themselves. The people did not follow them.

The revolution came to Russia at a time when the broad masses were becoming involved in the social movement. It was the masses that made that quantum leap in the progressive development of the country which had previously been tried in vain by individual heroes.

Any social revolution is above all a movement of the broad masses, a movement of the workers who break down social foundations that have outlived their time, replacing them with progressive ones. Of course this certainly does not mean that all the people are automatically creators of progress. This has never been the case, nor could it be.

"History," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "moves in zigzags and circles." And its creators, the masses, create not only progress, but its opposite as well. This happens in certain historical circumstances when the masses are led into deception by people who are acting against their interests.

When evaluating the course of restructuring today we must understand that it is the concern of the masses. During the process of the revolutionary renewal of the society their labor and social potential increase and they become more aware and organized. The people expand their political horizons, master new techniques and technologies, and learn to control the country. All this contributes to strengthening the role of the masses as the motive force of restructuring and accelerating revolutionary changes.

But, we repeat, one still cannot say that the masses have been enlisted totally and completely in the restructuring processes. This has not yet happened. There are still many workers, peasants, and representatives of the intelligentsia who are standing on the sidelines and waiting.

Nor can one help but note that the wave of positive changes sometimes raises up on its crest people who only call themselves progressive but in fact are either in a rut or are looking to the past. For instance, a saying is going around: "the new is the old that has been long forgotten." And one might say that this is not a joke but a kind of political tactic. It is espoused, for example, by those who, allegedly in the name of emancipating the individual, liberating him from old ethical dogmas, proclaim a return to God-seeking. Voices ring out calling people to solitude somewhere far beyond civilization. There appear people who believe in "otherworldly forces," which are openly discussed in certain newspapers and television programs.

The party in breaking the ice of stagnation leads us to fight all this and establish the ideals of socialism, to fight for the renewal of man and his spiritual evolution. Restructuring has revealed the conflicts which for decades were driven deep inside. It is as though the masses, animated by the party, have awakened from a deep sleep. Ever larger groups of workers are becoming convinced that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer and are joining the ranks of the active fighters for progress and restructuring. And this large amount of creative work is taking place in such a complicated sphere as international relations as well. For many years from the high tribunes it was proclaimed for all to hear that international problems in the country had been

solved once and for all, that complete mutual understanding and an atmosphere that in no way clouded the friendship of nations prevailed, that there was not even a sign of any friction or misunderstanding of one another. But the reality told us something else. Recent events have shown that there are still many international contradictions whose resolution requires the efforts of our entire society. Contradictions like this are taken advantage of in a number of places by anti-restructuring forces—corrupt elements and merchants from the black market. In any sphere of life there are people who, maximizing the phraseology of restructuring, hang on to the wheel of history and thus try to move it backward.

The history of a society is not the sum of random variables, not like a chaotic movement of molecules, but a predictable, forward-moving process. A society develops from the lowest to its highest forms. On this path the masses become more and more completely engaged in historical creativity, which opens up the way for the comprehensive, harmonious development of the individual. Such is the main direction of social progress. There is a battle on the way.

The Communist Party is the initiator of restructuring. Having taken the revolutionary initiative, it has been able to provide an objective critical analysis of the condition of the society and the party itself and has set forth a deeply thought-out program of renewal of all of our life, and it is leading nationwide efforts to implement what has been earmarked. Thus it has again demonstrated that it is the political vanguard of the Soviet people. Not to be afraid of difficulties, not to give in to fatigue, but to proceed boldly along the path of renewal—this is where the Leninist party is calling us.

All-Union Socialist Competition Results Viewed

PM0404084989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[V. Parfenov and A. Platoshkin article: "Time for Practical Action. Those Who Consider Themselves Masters Rather Than Employees Are Ahead in Labor Competition"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee resolution published yesterday examined the results of all-union socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the 1988 plan. Unlike previous years we can see that the list of front-rankers has become much shorter than before. This means that the demands on the participants in labor competition have increased sharply.

The year's 1st quarter ends in 2 days' time. We will sum up its results later. But it can already be said that there have been positive improvements in production development in many leading sectors and labor collectives. Particularly in areas where new economic management methods are being skillfully utilized.

The election campaign has introduced a great many new things into our life. At the same time, it has revealed yet again laggard areas of economic work. These have also been discussed. Labor and state discipline is not yet up to standard, and a number of production collectives feel no responsibility for fulfilling orders for the entire planned product list. Hence the difficult situation with regard to output production, the commissioning of housing, and the construction of projects in the social sphere, and the shortcomings in livestock wintering at livestock units.

The times will not permit shillyshallying. It is now time for practical action.

An example of highly organized work is being set by those collectives, industrial centers, and urban and rural rayons where people work skillfully and responsibly, where clear cooperation has been organized between related sectors, and where labor competition has been organized in a new way.

Among the rural rayons leading the list of front-rankers are Momskiy Rayon in the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Putilskiy Rayon in Chernovitsy Oblast, Anivskiy Rayon in Sakhalin Oblast, Dobrinskiy Rayon in Lipetsk Oblast, Kolskiy Rayon in Murmansk Oblast, and Tonskiy Rayon in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. As you can see, this represents a vast geographical area. And it shows that every agricultural region can produce high returns. If the land has real masters.

The recent CPSU Central Committee plenum approved the party's new agrarian policy and adopted a system of measures capable of sharply boosting the efficiency of the economy's agrarian sector. These are based on economic accountability, contracts, leases, and the use of various forms of socialist ownership in the countryside.

All this, so to speak, provides serious food for thought for local party committees, bureaus, and soviet and economic organs. Only full economic independence, freedom, and payment for end results will foster enterprising and go-ahead people who are really concerned about their assigned task. These are precisely the masters we need today. They do exist and there are more and more of them every day. It is important to spot them in good time.

The experience amassed by front-rankers is a mighty reserve which should be taken up by every collective, construction site, farm, and livestock unit. This experience also shows that a method such as labor competition, which has proved able over the course of decades to boost people's activeness, should not be consigned to the archives. Under the new conditions it should be geared above all toward improving output quality and reducing prime cost and expenditure.

Labor competition makes it possible to make fuller use of economic accountability, self-financing, and the collective and lease contract, and to foster the sense that workers are masters of production. Masters rather than the employees that people at plants, construction sites, in the fields, and at livestock units long considered themselves to be.

It is planned to accelerate in action rather than words the development of all progressive national economic sectors in the current 5-Year Plan and to improve people's living standards on that basis.

The role of the agrarian sector of the economy and everyone employed in it is very great in this respect. Because adequate food supplies in the country depend on their efforts and contribution. It is time for truly ardent practical work from rural workers today. After all, spring is here.

Success, as is well known, can only be achieved through work, not words. Skillful, creative, and productive work. That is the main thing for any social system, and it is now particularly important for our society. Everyone should realize that the country's destiny will be decided by our work!

Civil Aviation Safety Work Expanded

PM0704105789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with R. Teymurazov, deputy chairman of the State Commission for Flight Safety of Civil Aviation under the USSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent R. Ignatyev under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Safety in the Sky and on the Ground"; place, date not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The USSR State Commission for Flight Safety of Civil Aviation [Gosavianadzor] has examined the question of the state of flight safety in the country's civil aviation during 1988. During this period as a whole 154 aviation incidents were recorded. They included 16 crashes in which 115 people died and 93 were injured. As a result of accidents 58 aircraft and helicopters were written off. Losses totaled approximately R10 million [figure as published].

IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked R. Teymurazov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Gosavianadzor, to comment on these sad statistics.

[Ignatyev] Rudolf Ambartsumovich, to judge from letters to the editors, the majority of our readers have formed the opinion that there has recently been a sharp increase in the number of incidents on the country's air routes. Do you agree with such assertions?

[Teymurazov] In preparing the final materials we analyzed not only the past year. Our specialists studied and generalized the data on air incidents going back practically 20 years. And the figures speak of an improvement in the situation. Compared with the 1987 indicators, for example, the total number of emergencies in 1988 dropped by 13 percent. However, there was an increase in the gravity of the consequences of air crashes: The number of people who died during this period increased from 47 to 115 (actual passengers—from 11 to 51). There have been more tragic times. Thus, in 1973, 818 people were victims of air crashes. Previously such information was kept under "lock and key." But now we are reporting every air incident. This is why people now get the impression of a high accident rate in Aeroflot. And yet recently (1987-1988) our data on air incidents have for the first time approached closely the corresponding indicators in the United States, where the state of flight security is considered to be at a high level. In this matter today we appear substantially better than international civil aviation....

The true situation regarding the state of flight safety in USSR civil aviation was hitherto known only to those whose activity is directly linked with investigating air incidents. The population, as I have already said, remained ignorant. The mass media regularly reported on crashes, chiefly those happening abroad, including the casualties. But the number of fatalities here was, as a rule, kept quiet. And so an idyllic picture resulted. In actual fact, according to the data for 1981-1985, one passenger for every million conveyed died in world civil aviation, while on Aeroflot the figure was two [not further specified—FBIS], while on U.S. scheduled routes it was one air passenger in every 4 million. Unfortunately, the rate of reduction in the accident rate still remains low here.

[Ignatyev] What are the main causes of air incidents?

[Teymurazov] The majority of emergencies are associated with errors by the people operating the aircraft or with shortcomings and omissions in the work of Aeroflot services. Last year alone this was the cause of 83 percent of air incidents, with just 9 percent resulting from design or production shortcomings in aircraft. This ratio has remained practically constant.

Specifically, in 1986, 1987, and 1988 aviation equipment was not to "blame" for any crashes, whereas the number of air incidents owing to errors by pilots or ground services increased significantly and is growing yearly.

[Ignatyev] Does this mean that we must speak of crews' poor professional training?

[Teymurazov] I would not make such a categorical assessment of flight specialists. Although, in individual cases the qualifications of certain pilots are poor and do not meet today's requirements. In this situation it is

more appropriate to speak of another, more important issue. For many years we "forgot" about the influence of the human factor on flight safety. Such research is now being conducted in a number of ministries and departments. Special programs have been drawn up. A check has shown that their effectiveness is poor. Much is imperfect in the scientists' work, and such important aspects as the qualitative improvement of the system of vocational training and retraining of flight personnel, the social and psychological aspects of pilots' work, workloads, working conditions, and pay have not been fully reflected. There is a total absence of any comprehensive research into optimum cooperation between the crew and the flight controller and other factors. In addition, the realization of these programs is running up against difficulties—financial ones, above all.... As a result, there are repeat accidents occurring under identical conditions and caused by typical pilot errors.

[Ignatyev] Which main violations by flight personnel are encountered most frequently?

[Teymurazov] If we take mountain airports, it is an incorrect landing approach. Thus, at Batagay Airport on 4 October 1988 an An-12 aircraft of the Yakutsk Civil Aviation Administration plunged into a mountainside when attempting to land. The aircraft broke up and caught fire.... Six people died. The crash happened because of errors by the crew. As a rule, in such situations one violation is compounded by another. The pilots' failure to fulfill requirements with regard to navigation and pilotage in mountain localities is combined with errors by the flight control service and shortcomings in equipping air traffic control centers and airports with the necessary radio aids. During the previous 5 years crashes happened for these reasons twice at Alma-Ata (1983 and 1987) and at Leninakan, Kutaisi, Bagdarin, and Irkutsk. The investigation into crashes involving a Tu-134 aircraft at Surgut Airport and a Yugoslav An-12 at Zvartnots International Airport revealed serious shortcomings in the organization of flights and in air traffic control.

In 1988 there was a sharp increase in the number of rough landings, which sometimes have tragic consequences. An analysis of air incidents involving heavy transport aircraft has shown that half the accidents could have been prevented if the crews had decided in good time to go around again. But commanders frequently seek to land at the first attempt, although they sometimes realize that it is risky. This is the result of self-esteem and the desire to save fuel and time—which is also linked with the crew's pay. However, they frequently have to pay for this in human lives, as happened, for example, at Surgut Airport on 27 February 1988.

On approaching the airport at the prescribed altitude, the crew of the Tu-134 aircraft failed to see the lead-in lights. Instead of going round again, the pilots decided to continue descending and make a landing. As a result, the aircraft landed off the runway. The heavy impact destroyed the aircraft. Twenty people died.

[Ignatyev] Are there any effective ways to ensure passenger safety in the event of an air incident?

[Teymurazov] Safety belts, which protect passengers from traumas and contusions, and suchlike serve as a precaution. But they do not give a full guarantee of safety. Moreover, in certain situations they simply become a hindrance. Thus, there was a case in the seventies when an aircraft overturned at the moment of an accident. Fire broke out, and the passenger compartment was engulfed. Strapped to their seats, the passengers hung in the air and were unable to free themselves. And so many of them were burned. After that tragic incident the design of the belt clasps was changed. This is probably all: Passengers are not provided with parachutes. Modern types of aircraft have life jackets in case of "alighting on water" and several oxygen bottles in case of depressurization during flight. In case of a forced landing or emergency touchdown aircraft are provided with emergency exits, special chutes.... Here a lot depends on the crew and the ground services.

[Ignatyev] Is it possible to save many people after a particular kind of crash?

[Teymurazov] Unfortunately, there are many cases where, owing to the sluggishness of crash rescue teams, people who find themselves in a grave situation do not receive appropriate assistance in time and die. There were several such situations last year alone. A Tu-134 aircraft crashed at Surgut Airport. The team that turned up did not know what to do. The aircraft had overturned and was burning. The "rescuers" did not even have a ladder to climb up and open the skin, and no one could say right away where the emergency hatches were located. Firemen arrived without smoke masks (it later came to light that they had handed them in for preventive maintenance the previous day). Naturally, with such organization there can be no question of any effective assistance. And all this had a graver consequence: Many passengers were suffocated by the smoke.

In point of fact, the crash rescue services that exist in civil aviation fail to cope with their functions. The USSR Gosavianadzor has conducted a check. It turned out that the majority of these special teams are organized only in a formal way. They get no training. The corresponding post does not even feature on airports' personnel roster. The result is plain for all to see, as it were.

[Ignatyev] What is the USSR Gosavianadzor doing to enhance flight safety?

[Teymurazov] The investigation of emergencies is one of the foundations of future safety. You cannot fight shortcomings without knowing the causes. We are responsible for studying the most complex accidents and crashes. In

1988 USSR Gosavianadzor employees investigated 17 serious air incidents, including those involving fatalities. The materials of 120 accidents and 2,400 incidents which had been investigated by departmental commissions were studied. Naturally, we make recommendations and take the necessary measures on the results of the materials. The new "Statute on Investigating Aviation Occurrences and Incidents Involving Civil Aircraft of the USSR" comes into force 1 July 1989. Previously we would "wait" for an accident before rectifying, let us say, some technical "error" in the design of an aircraft. And only after studying the cause of an incident would we eliminate shortcomings. But that approach is too costly, sometimes costing people's lives. Now every minor, insignificant occurrence is investigated. We call it an incident. This will enable us to prevent serious accidents and crashes. Effective assistance from the Ministry of Civil Aviation, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, their enterprises, and scientific research organizations is needed in this work. In short, safety demands our joint efforts and great material expenditure.

Agricultural

Ligachev Attends Conference-Seminar in Omsk

18240127 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Apr 89 p 2

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN-TASS report: "An Important Reserve in Food Supplies. A Zonal Conference-Seminar in Omsk"; for further reportage concerning this conference-seminar, see pages 72-75 of the 3 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] The tasks of party, soviet, and economic organs in broadening cooperation between industrial enterprises and agriculture, and the development of family farms and collective horticulture and truck farming in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) plenum have been discussed at a zonal conference-seminar that took place 31 March and 1 April in Omsk.

Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev, A.V. Vlasov, and O.D. Baklanov took part in its work.

Those attending the seminar included Central Committee secretaries of the union republic communist parties and kray party committee [kraykom] and oblast party committee [obkom] secretaries; deputy chairman of the union republic councils of ministers; executive committee [ispolkom] chairmen from kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies; the agro-industrial committees and trade union councils in the union republic; krays, oblasts, and autonomous republics; the first secretaries of the union republic Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] central committees and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms; republic, kray, and oblast Consumer Trade Cooperatives [Potrebsoyuz] chairmen in Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia; and representatives of central departments and machine-building ministries.

Opening the seminar CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers A.V. Vlasov emphasized that radical restructuring of agro-industrial production on the basis of a diversity of forms of socialist ownership, the creation of equal economic conditions for farming, and all-around intensification of integration links is today of fundamental importance in solving the food problem. This applies in full to private subsidiary farming by citizens, enterprises, organizations, and establishments, and to horticulture and truck farming. These forms are considered an important source and reserve for the rapid buildup of food resources. It has been deemed expedient to discuss matters of their development, and also of social amenities for the countryside, at zonal conference-seminars, of which the first is being held in Omsk Oblast, where worthwhile experience has been gained.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary Ye.K. Ligachev presented a report at the seminar-conference.

He said that the time has now come for practical implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March plenum, which drew up an agrarian policy for the period of restructuring and defined its goals and the main directions and methods to reach those goals.

Last year before the Central Committee plenum on agrarian questions, at an all-union conference-seminar in Orel Oblast there was a review of problems connected with improving economic relations in collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] and social development in the countryside. Now, in Omsk Oblast, it has been decided to draw attention to issues of making use of the opportunities for cooperation between industry and agriculture and the development of private subsidiary farming and collective horticulture and truck farming. In these directions palpable results can be felt in the shortest possible time.

Industrial enterprises are supplying agriculture and the processing collectives with gear and equipment and construction materials. In addition they are engaged in the production of food through the creation and development of their own agriculture and shops and establishing links of cooperation with kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the basis of mutually profitable contracts. The experience gained in Belgorod Oblast is well known. There have been examples of successful cooperation in Irkutsk Oblast and Altay Kray. Industrial enterprises are offering the farms loans, carrying out construction there, and helping with people and equipment. And all of this is

being done on an economic and mutually advantageous basis. For their contribution, the people at the factories receive specified quantities of meat, milk, and other produce from the farms.

The country's industrial enterprises also have their own agriculture. This is widespread in Tyumen Oblast, where the number of such enterprises has grown to 385 in recent years. Up to R80 million are being invested each year to develop agrarian shops.

However, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted, farms at industrial enterprises are still having little effect in improving food supplies for workers and employees. The task is not simple: by 1995 to reach a production level of at least 30 kg of meat and 50 kg of meat per worker. This means that these farms must be regarded not as secondary or auxiliary but as main and very important shops at plants and other enterprises.

Another way to set up agrarian shops is to transfer low-profitability kolkhozes and sovkhozes and those operating at a loss to the balance sheets of industrial collectives. Over the past 3 years more than 140 such farms have been transferred.

Citizens' private subsidiary plots in villages and workers' settlements, and collective horticulture and truck farming play an important role in the food supply. The issue of family farms is now a practical matter. They produce almost 24 percent of the total volume of agricultural produce.

Essentially, family farms are a form of leasing. The only difference is that not all of the output from a family farm is commercial. With regard to the principles of farming, they can with full justification be called leasehold. The owner of the family farm, or as it is often called, private subsidiary farm, pays an agricultural tax and sells his output as he sees fit. This kind of farming is linked closely with kolkhoz and sovkhoz production.

All of this is a tried and tested and well-established form of farming. If additional impetus is provided for its development and it is deepened on the basis of mutually advantageous economic and organizational links with public production and the consumer cooperatives then it will be possible to obtain in a short time a significant addition to foodstuffs. And at minimum cost.

It was noted in the report that private subsidiary plots in the countryside have gone through various stages in their development. Ultimately, the realities of life forced through decisions that meet the interests of rural inhabitants and the state.

The CPSU Central Committee March plenum deemed it necessary to establish full rights for citizens' private subsidiary farms as a form of agricultural production. It demanded finally a change in the attitudes of many economic leaders, and in some cases soviet and party organs, and an end to their underestimation of private subsidiary farming. In fact family farms are an organic part of the socialist system of agriculture.

They fulfill not only an economic but also an important social function and make it possible to involve in socially useful activity a considerable number of students, pensioners, and other categories of people. They constitute an important source of family incomes. The share of income from private subsidiary plots as part of total income for the kolkhoz family averages almost 25 percent countrywide, and in some republics the figure is as high as 40 percent.

Party and soviet organs in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and in Chita, Samarkand, and a number of other oblasts are engaging in this work more actively.

Particularly instructive experience in work with family farms has been gained in Omsk Oblast. The main thing is that a clear-cut system has been set up here for providing leadership in this sector of the economy at all levels, and the procurement and processing networks have been set up for the family farms. Each family farm now accounts for an average of 387 kg of meat and 1,250 kg of milk, which is 1.8 and 1.5 times respectively more than the average for the country. The private sector of the agrarian economy is exerting a noticeable effect on improvements in supplying food for the oblast's population.

At the same time this important source of additional food resources is being used quite inadequately in some places. This applies primarily to the production of livestock products. Over the past 3 years milk production has noticeably declined at private subsidiary farms in Amur and Kokchetav Oblasts, and meat production in Khabarovsk Kray and Ural Oblast. Only poor work is being done in Maritime Kray to develop family farms.

One of the factors holding back growth in the numbers of cattle and the production of livestock products at family farms is the still poor provision of fodder. The task is to provide rural inhabitants with hay and pasture, and also plots of land for additional fodder production. And agricultural land must be secured for long periods for citizens working private subsidiary farms.

The production of equipment for use on family farms was discussed. There are still shortages of certain machines and mechanisms, which can be seen only at exhibitions.

In providing the population with fruits and vegetables an important place is occupied by collective horticulture and truck farming. Work here has recently been significantly increased. The local soviets and trade unions are doing a great deal here. During the first 3 years of the current 5-Year Plan the number of orchard tracts in the

country increased by a factor of 1.7, reaching almost 11 million. Some 18 million families are now engaged in horticulture and truck farming, which is virtually one family in every five.

The report included letters from workers to the CPSU Central Committee in which they complain that their desire to work the land and engage in something useful is still encountering incomprehensible obstacles. It was noted that it is essential to remove all obstacles in allocating tracts of land to citizens for use as family farms, orchards and truck farms, and to provide all possible assistance in their creation and development, and to organize the purchase of produce grown right there at the local level. There must be no red tape or impediments here.

The family farm in the village starts with the farmstead. It is therefore very important to create for the inhabitants of villages all the conditions essential for individual housing construction using the assets of the rural population.

The development of family farms and collective horticulture and truck farming is being hampered by the serious shortcomings in the organization of purchases of excess products from the public. Today it is clear to everyone that the elimination of rural consumer societies was a serious mistake. It has led to a situation in which the consumer cooperative is located at some distance away from its members and the producers of agricultural output.

The process of reviving the consideration societies has been started. But there is more to it than this. It is important that comprehensive procurement and processing enterprises be set up at all central farmsteads at large kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The consumer cooperative system must also become a production cooperative.

It is common knowledge that a large-scale program is being implemented in the country to create a modern food industry, and defense enterprises have become involved in this. It would be useful to underpin this work with an approach of initiative at the local level, and to help the consumer cooperative system to develop its own processing equipment. This is being done, for example, in Omsk, Penza, Kirov, Volgograd, Kalinin, and Belgorod Oblasts and Stavropol Kray, where the consumer cooperatives have organized the production of electric ovens and smoke-houses, and freezers for ice-cream, along with lifting and transport equipment.

The consumer cooperative system must not only engage in the purchase and processing of produce from family farms but also support this sector with concentrated fodders, equipment, seedlings, and other materials.

It is now essential to work actively to comply with the decisions that have been reached. The experience of the people of Omsk and the results achieved here can teach us a great deal, Ye.K. Ligachev said. First and foremost, by skillfully combining the methods of farming and organizational work we should everywhere devise and operate, with the help of the public and on a democratic basis, a system to manage the development of the private sector and agriculture at enterprises, through cooperation between industrial enterprises and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This entire movement must be given scale and tempo. Of course, without commands and by reckoning to eliminate bureaucratic obstacles and create the proper conditions and provide assistance.

First secretary of the Omsk party obkom, Ye.D. Pokhitaylo, told those present about the work of the oblast party and soviet organs, trade unions, and Komsomol organizations in providing the public with foodstuffs, and in social restructuring in the countryside. He noted that one-third of the oblast's population, 2,140,000 people, lives in the countryside. There are 8.7 million hectares of agricultural land and 4.3 hectares of arable land. The average annual total gross agricultural output during the current 5-Year Plan has increased 11 percent compared to the 11th 5-Year Plan; the corresponding figures for meat are 15 percent, for milk 5 percent, and for grain 12 percent. Cost accounting has been mastered everywhere and contract, lease, and cooperative relations are being developed. The collectives working under the terms of contracts are working 85 percent of arable land and handling half of the livestock. Production is specialized. All vegetable growing has been concentrated in the five suitable sovkhozes making up the Omskagroplodoovoshchtorg Association, which is producing more than 100,000 tonnes of vegetables each year—sufficient to supply the population of Omsk. Some 90 percent of commercial pork in the oblast—almost 50,000 tonnes—is provided by the "Omsk Bekon" firm, which includes eight sovkhozes. At the head sovkhoz of the "Luzinskiy" firm, where 250,000 hogs are raised at one time, 4.4 quintals of fodder units and 3.6 man-hours are needed to produce 1 quintal of meat. Overall profitability in production is 61 percent.

Sheep breeding in the oblast is concentrated in 31 specialized farms each handling an average of 23,000 sheep. Poultry farming is done at the 16 poultry farms and poultry sovkhozes making up the "Omskoye" Association. Last year they produced 700 million eggs and 36,000 tonnes of meat. Fattening of cattle has been organized extensively. Thus, the Tavricheskiy complex produces 4,000 tonnes of beef annually, using 6 quintals of fodder per quintal of added weight. A base for the production of grass seed has been set up. A total of 28 farms and 6 stations specialize in this. Adequate quantities of seeds for cereal grass, alfalfa, rape, and sweet clover are grown.

The speaker emphasized that the oblast party organization attaches especially great importance to bringing into play all reserves and opportunities for building up the

production of potatoes, vegetables, and livestock farming products. Per capita consumption of meat has reached 73 kg in the oblast, of milk 377 kg, of eggs 310, of potatoes 132 kg, and of vegetables and melons 92 kg.

One of the main concerns is the comprehensive development of private subsidiary farms and agrarian shops in industry. From these sources alone the oblast's population receives about half of its meat and more than one-third of its milk. Following a decision by the obkom party bureau and the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom], a food commission has been set and is operating; it is headed by the oblispolkom chairman. It deals specifically with matters of the oblast's self-sufficiency in food. Commissions in the rayons operate on the same principle.

The ispolkoms of the rural and settlement soviets and their aktiv of deputies are doing constant organizational work in this direction. Issues concerning the development of family farms are reflected in the collective agreements that the owners of rural farms conclude with the sovkhoz administration or kolkhoz board.

A special mention should be made with reference to providing the population with young animals. Through specialization and concentration in commercial hog raising, the task has been set in the oblast to achieve a situation in which each farm has its own special hog-raising section to produce suckling pigs. They sell the suckling pigs not only to the public but also to the agrarian shops at industrial enterprises. In the poultry association a reliable base has been created for selling poultry to the public. Last year the kolkhozes and sovkhozes sold 267,000 suckling pigs, 12.5 million chickens, and about 11,000 calves to the public. Overall for the oblast, there are now 153 head of livestock per 100 rural plots, including 146 cattle, of which 72 are cows. At the beginning of the year the overall figure for the private plots was 296,000 cattle, 304,000 sheep, and 146,000 hogs.

Unfortunately, the inventory of tools and machinery for the farmsteads is still very poor. The consumer cooperative system is satisfying demand only for hand scythes but cannot supply adequate quantities of horse-drawn mowers and motorized gear, and the implements for them.

How are things with fodder supplies? Last year 150,000 tonnes of grain, 40,000 tonnes of hay, and 146,000 tonnes of straw, along with a certain amount of silage and haylage, were sold or issued as payment in kind. Some 60,000 tonnes of concentrated fodders were sold to the public in two-way trade.

Procurement of meat last year from private farms was 23,300 tonnes, that is, 120 kg per family farm; the figure for milk was 48,000 tonnes, or an average of 331 kg per cow. The consumer cooperative system has taken on all of this work. It has its procurement officers in each rural soviet, who conclude agreements with farm owners. There are two-way sales of industrial goods—cars, motorcycles, car tires, washing machines, and knitting machines.

This year it is planned to complete the formation in each rayon consumer cooperative of industrial processing complexes consisting of a bakery, a sausage-making shop, a vegetable storage point with facilities for making sauerkraut, a pastry shop, and cooking and other shops, a slaughterhouse, and refrigeration facilities.

Some 53 specialized stores have been opened in the oblast, of which 24 are located in Omsk. Cooperative trade is dealing in meat and meat items, rendered fat, dried fruits, vegetables, and so forth. Seven covered hothouse markets operate in the city. Essentially they are trade-and-procurement enterprises, that is, people from the countryside can sell any product wholesale at a contract price. It is precisely by this method that, for example, 4,500 to 5,000 tonnes of meat are marketed each year. Taken all together it makes it possible to maintain stable prices for beef: In the trading cooperatives it is R3, in the markets, R3.50.

Some 23 agrarian shops are operating in the oblast at industrial enterprises. They have been organized on the basis of weak brigades and sections at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They have at their disposal 77,000 hectares of farmland, including about 32,000 hectares of arable land. Last year they supplied 5,000 tonnes of meat, slaughtered weight. At the "Omsknefteorgsintez" Association they produced 39 kg of meat per worker.

The oblast is numbered among those that export their output beyond their own boundaries. The Omsk people pass almost half of the meat and milk produced in the public sector into the union republic fund. The quantity is increasing. Thus, the increased per capita consumption of meat in the oblast in recent years has occurred mainly through the private farms.

Great importance is attached to the development of horticulture and truck farming. By the year 2000 the orchards of the inhabitants of Omsk and the rayon center should occupy about 10,000 hectares. About 80,000 urban families are already making use of their plots of land. Sales of construction materials, tools, and fertilizers have increased. Additional bus, railroad, and river routes have been opened. Harvests of fruits, berries, and vegetables are growing in line with this. Party and soviet organs are providing every possible support for collective horticulture and truck farming, seeing in this a reliable source for improving supplies of valuable food products for the population.

Nevertheless, local food resources cannot be considered exhausted. The oblast leadership is concerned about the unsatisfactory supplies for the public of foodstuffs that can and must be produced on the soil of Omsk. About 20,000 tonnes of confectioner's items are imported into

the oblast each year, along with a large quantity of mayonnaise. Freshwater fish are being farmed but the totals amount only to about 1 kg per person per year. Only about 60 percent of skim milk and 45 percent of milk whey are finding industrial uses. A program has been devised in the oblast to develop the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex through 1995. It is planned to invest about R500 million to achieve this.

Social restructuring in the countryside is connected closely with the problems under discussion. Any rural home, even apartment houses, are now being built only with good outbuildings suitable for stabling livestock. The network of schools, hospitals, sports, and everyday projects is growing.

One of the main obstacles hampering the further socio-economic development of the countryside is the lack of good roads. Some 136 sovkhozes and kolkhozes are not joined by hard-surfaced roads. What is more, more than 1,000 villages and hamlets do not have hard-surfaced roads. Along with construction steps have been planned to restore more than 3,000 small populated hamlets in the years immediately ahead. There are already plans to build 1,240 apartment blocks in them. The industrial enterprises in Omsk will help in this work.

Cooperation with the industrial collectives, Comrade Pokhitaylo stressed in his speech, also requires work aimed at improving everyday life for rural workers. It is planned to organize the manufacture of up-to-date domestic refrigerators at plants in the defense and aviation sectors. A proposal to organize the production of motorized units with suspended power units for family farms during the 13th 5-Year Plan at one of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry plants is worth considering.

Those attending the seminar-conference had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the work done by the Omsk people in insuring supplies of foodstuffs for the population and in the social restructuring of the countryside right there at the farms and enterprises. Their attention was directed to samples of the equipment used in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, private subsidiary farms at enterprises and personal farming tracts, in horticulture and truck farming, and at the processing enterprises. Many of them are already being produced or production is planned at machine-building and defense plants in the country. Machines developed by local craftsmen were also on display.

People living in the countryside have given a good assessment of the reliability, wide range of applications, and universality of the "Krot," "Belarus" and "MTZ-05" motorized units, which can be used for ploughing, cultivation, harrowing and ridging, and for cutting grass, carrying loads, and doing a dozen other operations on the farm and in the fields. Unfortunately, very few of these machines and mechanisms so essential to the rural population are being produced, and this was brought to the attention of the ministry and department leaders present during the inspection.

At the food and processing enterprises in Lyubinskiy rayon interest was shown in the the organization of reception and the processing of produce from the population's private farms. Within the rayon, where a large dairy and canning combine and a meat-canning plant operate, much work is being done to reconstruct and re-profile enterprises of the oblast Potrebsoyuz to produce new kinds of output. In particular, this has made it possible to organize at the former distillery the manufacture of 20 kinds of confectioner's items, including wonderful candies, sweetmeats, and candied fruit in chocolate. Here it was noted that changing production and the reconstruction should be done not using the cluster method but on the basis of the latest technologies on a contract basis with major industrial enterprises. The local cooperative procurement facilities have also been a great help in food self-sufficiency; the shops are supplying hundreds of tonnes of sausage products and smoked foods for the store shelves in the rayon center and in the villages and hamlets.

Lyubinskiy rayon is one of the most developed in the oblast. However, even here we are seeing a decline in the rural population. One of the reasons for this is unemployment between the seasons. At the Lenin kolkhoz, for example, where a great deal is being done to provide social amenities in the village and build housing, indifferent use is still being made of opportunities to develop subsidiary trades in order to increase employment and thus insure cadre stability.

Another reserve for an upsurge in production efficiency in the public sector and on the private farms is the level of worker skills. Few young men and women are trying to master rural specialties in the higher educational institutions [VUZ's] and tekhnikums and this is hampering the develop of agriculture on a scientific basis. It has been a question of active indoctrination work in this direction by party and Komsomol organizations.

On this plane there is considerable interest in sources of additional supplies, such as raising hogs using food waste, which has been organized at the "Omskiy" sovkhoz by the oblispolkom food administration. The guests visited an industrial combine in the oblast Potrebsoyuz where the production of a large range of consumer goods has been organized.

In the steppe Tavrichevskiy rayon those attending the seminar familiarized themselves with the organization of cattle procurement from the public, and with the shops that produce smoked meat and fish products within the consumer cooperative system. They visited the farms of the inhabitants of the village of Lyubomirovka and the central farmstead of the "Goncharovskiy" sovkhoz. Here there has also been some reduction in the number of farm plots, but it is something else that strikes

one—the steady increase in the numbers of cattle, which is making it possible advantageously to increase purchases of excess livestock produce.

The experience gained in the oblast has been concentrated in the Subtayga Volsherechenskiy Rayon, where they have the highest density of cattle kept in yards; as a result it has the richest meat counters in the oblast.

CPSU Central Committee secretary O.D. Baklanov spoke at the final plenary session of the seminar-conference. Today, he said, no one can stand aside from finding the solution to the food problem. In order to build up agricultural production, economic measures must be underpinned with the necessary technical support. It is precisely this combination that will make it possible to increase labor productivity sharply.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that as the result of implementation of our peace initiatives it has become possible to use part of the country's defense potential to resolve national economic tasks.

Compared to 1987, by 1995 it is planned to quintuple the output of equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex in the defense sectors. By then some 90 percent of machines should be at top world standards. In order to resolve this task more than 340 plants and more than 200 scientific research institutes and design bureaus in the defense complex will be additionally involved. This potential should insure major advances in solving the problems that have been set.

The speech drew attention to industry's extremely inadequate production of the equipment needed for family farms, including the defense sectors. Because rural workers do not have the opportunity to acquire this equipment, skilled craftsmen have been forced to make them from scrap metal. It is essential to sharply increase production of this equipment in the defense complex, bearing in mind that it is all essentially consumer goods, now extremely necessary for the country. It is important here to bring local potentials into play and make use of new management forms.

The speaker dwelt on the need to enhance the role of science and technology in retooling agricultural production and processing agricultural output. The design and scientific organizations of the clients and of the producers are still disconnected and they cooperate poorly. In this work it is necessary to make use of experience already gained in the development of defense equipment. This will significantly accelerate the final result.

Attention was drawn to the importance of providing every kind of assistance in the matter of organizing comprehensive maintenance services for equipment produced; lack of these services in the countryside still being experienced by rural workers is causing major difficulties and inconvenience. The importance of further developing private subsidiary farms in the defense sectors of industry and of transferring lagging farms to them was emphasized.

A detailed analysis of these problems was provided in statements by the following USSR ministers: V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, minister of general machine building; L.D. Ryabev, minister of medium machine building; and A.S. Systsov, minister of the aviation industry. They talked about the involvement of enterprises in the defense sectors in developing within the country a modern processing industry and highly productive equipment and gear for the agro-industrial complex, and also for family farms.

Trade union workers, the chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] S.A. Shalayev said, are drawing the necessary practical conclusions from the seminar-conference so that they may make better use of the real reserves that are to hand to improve supplies of food for the workers. The trade unions regard organizational work in this sector as a direct party assignment. And together with the soviet and economic organs they will carry the responsibility for the state of affairs in the sector.

Take private subsidiary farms at enterprises. On the whole they are not being developed at the rate that is necessary and realistic today. There is but one conclusion: Giving due consideration to the CPSU Central Committee March plenum, together with the local soviets the trade union organs must decisively overcome the psychological dependence of many economic leaders and their passiveness and reluctance to burden themselves with the concerns of guaranteeing foodstuffs for their own workers.

And finally, said the speaker, the AUCCTU is supporting in every possible way the practice of contractual relations between enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in developing agricultural production.

Dealing with matters concerning the further development of horticulture and truck farming, the AUCCTU chairman emphasized that this is a traditional sphere of activity for the trade unions. However, here, too, there are still many problems, particularly those associated with the growing of vegetables and potatoes. From next year contract prices will be introduced for these products in trade. Increased prices may be avoided by the extensive development of truck farming.

Taking into account the need to accelerate the rates of social restructuring in the countryside, the trade unions, the speaker reported, are allocating significant funding for these purposes.

One of the main reasons that young people are not attracted to maintaining private subsidiary farms is the problem of services; this was noted in his speech by

Komsomol Central Committee first secretary V.I. Mironenko. The level of mechanization in labor at private subsidiary farms is close to zero. There are many difficulties in acquiring seeds and fertilizers and in marketing produce. Unfortunately the economic structures existing today in the countryside are not solving these problems. Many of the Komsomol organizations are filling the "vacuum" in the provision of services using their own resources. For example, cost-accounting youth associations are being set up to provide various kinds of services for the owners of private subsidiary farms, and they are actively involved in the development and manufacture of small-scale equipment.

The speaker pointed out that another major factor hampering young families' desire to acquire home plots is the considerable amounts of time required to maintain them. In his opinion, a solution can be found here by setting up common farms maintained by young people in turn.

It is also very important to help schoolchildren realize their desire to be involved in agricultural production. The examples of the student brigades operating in many places indicate that these formations provide a solid addition to the food on the table and help in solving the task of labor indoctrination for teenagers. But here is the paradox: While thousands of hectares of fertile land are each year withdrawn from use because there is no one to work them, many rural schools, and even vocational and technical schools, do not have their own plots of land.

The speaker talked about the help that the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol committees at the local level are providing for farms in rayons with so-called excess manpower, in order to organize land leases in the Nonchernozem area, Siberia, and the Far East.

The following also shared their opinions: D.D. Verkov, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee secretary; U.S. Sydykov, first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers; K.A. Taukenov, chairman of the Tselinograd Oblispolkom; A.V. Morozov, first secretary of the Novosibirsk Komsomol Obkom; and others.

Ye.K. Ligachev summed up the results of work.

I.I. Skiba, CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department chief, USSR ministers L.B. Vasilyev and Ye.I. Sizenko, P.S. Fedirko, the chairman of the Central Union of Consumer Societies Board, and leading workers from the USSR State Planning Committee, and USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply took part in the work of the seminar-conference.

Academy of Agricultural Sciences Meeting Held
18240128a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Mar 89 p 2

[TASS report: "Increase the Output of Science"]

[Text] The results of work in 1984-1988 and the priority tasks of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKhNIL] for implementing the current agrarian policy in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee plenum were discussed at the annual general meeting of academicians and corresponding members of VASKhNIL. It was held on 22 March in Moscow.

The reports by A.A. Nikonov, VASKhNIL president, and Academician V.P. Shishkov, chief scientist and secretary of the Presidium, and the speeches noted that certain work had been done by scientists and specialists to further increase the level of scientific research, strengthen the role of agrarian science in development of the country's agro-industrial complex, restructure the activities of scientific research institutions, and accelerate scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex.

The speakers noted that the matter of the role of agrarian science is being raised in a new way today. We must ensure comprehensive resolution of problems, intensify the integration of science with production and the linkage of fundamental research with applied research, and provide good quality developments for practice. Strong scientific collectives are needed to carry out these tasks.

Participating in the work of the meeting were V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee; and Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the Agrarian Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Nishanov Addresses Agricultural Conference
18240128b Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Mar 89 p 2

[TASS report from Tashkent: "Farmers' Conference"]

[Text] Participants in a republic conference of agricultural workers held today outlined a path toward balanced development of Uzbekistan's agro-industrial complex.

Proceeding from the decisions of the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee plenum, which determined the need to reject completely forceful methods of leadership, the republic does not intend to continue the practice of assigning planting areas for cotton and other crops. The task is for everyone to learn to think competently with regard for economics and to combine the interests of the leaseholder, farm, and the state as a whole.

First of all, farms are rejecting the slogan "Cotton at any price" and giving priority to resolving food problems. Serious steps have been taken in this direction in the last 2 years. Plans for cotton production have been reduced by almost 1 million tonnes. This year, planting areas for cotton have been reduced by 110,000 hectares.

R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the conference.

Scientific

'Mir' Complex Cosmonauts Prepare for Return

LD1104150189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 April—A TASS correspondent reports from the flight control center:

The long orbital flight of Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov is nearing completion.

Today's working program of the "Mir" orbital complex includes the stock-taking of equipment and of the materials that are being used, scheduled and preventive maintenance, and checking of onboard systems.

In the coming days, the replenishing of the fuel tanks of the base unit with the fuel and oxidizer delivered by the Progress-41 craft is to be carried out as well as the mothballing of the station's onboard systems.

After the correction carried out yesterday, the orbital parameters of the "Mir" complex are:

—apogee - 400 km;
—perigee - 372 km;
—period of revolution - 92.1 mins;
—inclination - 51.6 degrees.

It has been planned that the cosmonauts should return to earth on 27 April. The "Mir" orbital complex will continue its flight in the automatic mode.

Publication of Radiation Reports Welcomed

PM1204090389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 6

[Report by A. Illesh under the rubric "Rumors And Facts": "Radiation in Moscow"]

[Text] SOVETSKIY FIZIK, high-circulation newspaper of the I.V. Kurchatov Institute of Nuclear Energy, has started providing its readers with precise data on the radiation situation.

Well, a commonplace occurrence against the background of the glasnost "surge," is it not? Not exactly. Because since Chernobyl I have heard no end of stories about my native Moscow! They said (trustworthy, as ever): You don't have to go to Kiev Oblast to get contaminated by radiation. We are creating it right here! Where? Well, at closed enterprises, at all those scientific research institutions. In the Kurchatov Institute, do you know how many "facilities" give it off? And I would reply: No, I don't. My own personel dosimeter had jammed at the Chernobyl station—many people in the special zone had products of that kind of quality.

Whether we like or not, in a big city we have to live alongside, to put it mildly, a variety of industrial operations. Without getting idealistic and wanting to know everything about all of them—for example, what they all produce and in what quantities—I will say that the local people have the right to know the side effects. They must, in fact. As it happens, that kind of information is often useful to the industries themselves—either they talk openly about health safety in the area or the public will take action to encourage ministries and departments to modernize the facilities or take other steps to make the operations safe. The end result of glasnost is always the same: Both people and departments gain.

Now for the newspaper data. What is the air like from the viewpoint of radiation in the vicinity of the Kurchatov Institute? The total amount of activity contained in the samples that are taken there weekly corresponds to the normal background figure for for major industrial cities and does not exceed permitted atmospheric concentrations for residential areas. The water, samples of which are taken monthly from the Moskva River in the Serebryanyy Forest and daily from Sobolevskiy Creek, is also fine. The indicators are normal.

Data on the external gamma-ray background are to be found in the paper, of course. Along the perimeter of the institute and in the adjoining residential area the background is constantly monitored, using portable radiometers and fixed thermoluminescent dosimeters; special vehicles are also used. The gamma-ray background there is one-fourth of the permitted level for residential areas. The average annual dose of radiation per resident does not exceed 100 milliroentgens, which corresponds to the natural background.

The conclusion is that the Institute of Nuclear Energy's work is not causing a deterioration of the radiation situation in the area.

I am convinced that this kind of information must appear regularly in the local press. Then many matters that are worrying the public at the moment will no longer arise.

Research Ship Leaves Murmansk for Arctic

PM1004110089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Arctic Experiment"]

[Text] A new chapter in the study of the icy mysteries of the Arctic will be opened up by the members of a new high-latitude scientific expedition. They left Murmansk for the Arctic Ocean on 6 March, on board the research ship "Otto Shmidt."

The researchers' polar route lies along the edges of the ice in the western part of the Barents and Norwegian Seas. It will end in the Labrador Sea, where the ice "dies," moving from the polar region toward the clear water of the Atlantic. In the course of the experiment the scientists hope to obtain unique data on the nature of ice processes in high latitudes and add to the knowledge about this enormous and as yet little studied region of the Arctic.

Military

Supreme Soviet Decree Amends Draft Regulations

PM1204095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on Changes to the USSR Law 'On Compulsory Military Service'"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To make the following changes to the USSR Law of 12 October 1967 "On Compulsory Military Service" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR No 42, 1967, Item 552; No 52, 1980, Item 1121):

1) to word Article 13 as follows: "Article 13. The period of active military service is established as follows:
"1) for enlisted men and NCO's [non-commissioned officers] in the Soviet Army and in Navy coastal units and aviation—2 years;
"2) for seamen and petty officers serving in Navy combat support ships, other vessels, and coastal units—3 years;
"3) for enlisted men, seamen, NCO's, and petty officers with higher education—1 year.
"The USSR Defense Ministry determines the procedure for performing active military service for the duration of enlistment for enlisted men, seamen, NCO's, and petty officers in accordance with the current law";

2) to word Article 35, Point 1 as follows:
"1) with respect to daytime (full-time) students of higher educational establishments. People expelled from higher educational institutions for poor progress, refusal to study, or indiscipline lose their right to repeated deferment of military service in order to continue their education";

3) to word Article 44 as follows:
"Article 44. Enlisted men, seamen, NCO's, and petty officers with higher education who have completed their training and taken the established tests prior to leaving active military service are commissioned officers on their discharge into the reserve. The time frame and procedure for sitting the tests is established by the USSR Defense Ministry.
"People not commissioned on their discharge into the reserve may be enlisted for training military reservists."

2. To instruct the USSR Council of Ministers to examine questions arising from the present decree and where necessary submit proposals to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Implementation of Student Deferments Discussed

LD0904214589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Voloshin] The Armed Forces are preparing for the admission of the new reinforcement of call-up troops. A multitude of questions are coming in to us from television viewers on the changes in the procedure for call-up for active military service, connected with the unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces. It has with satisfaction been decided that beginning this spring full-time students at institutes will be granted postponement of their Army service until their studies are completed. This is a demonstration of concern for training cadres for the national economy. What is to happen, however, to those students who are already doing their military service? Will they be discharged early from the ranks of the Armed Forces? We asked Colonel-General Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the General Armed Forces General Staff, these and other questions.

[Begin recording] [Krivosheyev] In accordance with the law on universal compulsory military service, Article 3 in the aforementioned law, all male citizens of the USSR, regardless of their origins, social, and property condition, racial and ethnic adherence, education, language, attitude to religion, and type and nature of occupation and their domicile, are obliged to go through active military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces. In the case in question, the opportunity has been created for students of higher educational institutions to complete their studies without interruption.

As for the question of early discharge of servicemen who are students of higher education establishments, the existing legislation does not provide for such a measure. These servicemen will be discharged into the reserve only after they have served their full period of military service, for at the present time many of the posts of younger commanders and specialists are manned precisely by the aforementioned servicemen.

The reduction of the USSR Armed Forces will, in the case of sergeants and soldiers, be made not by means of early discharge to the reserve, but by means of reducing the extent of call-up of citizens for military service, and first of all by giving deferrment for study at a higher education institutions.

[Correspondent] Grigoriy Fedorovich, how does the new system of students' training in a military sub-faculty differ form the one currently operating?

[Krivosheyev] Well, the existing regulation on student's military training takes no account of a number of specific features which have emerged in the organization of students' training at military sub-faculties in recent years, in particular. The principle upon which this was based was that of a common number of hours for military training both for those who had undergone service in the Armed Forces, and for those who had not served in the Army and Navy. The proposed system of military training for students envisions, fundamentally, a differentiated approach to military training for students. At the same time, the principle of obligatory military training in accordance with the reserve officer program for all students is maintained. [end recording]

Conference on Predraft Training Held 4-5 Apr

PM1004155989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Colonel N. Kalmykov: "A New Quality of Work with Young People"]

[Text] Ways of improving predraft training for young people were determined at a conference at the USSR Defense Ministry on 4-5 April in Moscow.

It has been nearly 3 years since the publication of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution aimed at further improving the training of young people for military service. What is being done to implement this resolution locally, what new elements have appeared in work with predraft youth and draftees that require introduction on an extensive scale, and what must headquarters and military commissars be concentrating their efforts on when organizing military-patriotic education and training young people for service in the Army and Navy in view of the transfer of Soviet defense building to qualitative parameters? These and other matters were discussed during a 2-day Moscow conference involving leading personnel of the main headquarters of the armed services and military district headquarters and leaders of republic, kray, and oblast military commissariats.

Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, delivered a report on the state of draft work in military commissariats and tasks to improve it. Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, delivered a report on matters of military commissariats' practical work to step up the military-patriotic education of the country's population. Reports were also delivered by Colonel General D.A. Grinkevich, chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff, who analyzed the state of military commissariats' activity organizing the training of young people for service in the Armed Forces; and Medical Service Colonel General F.I. Komarov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Central Military Medicine Directorate, who talked about problems of improving medical and sanitary work and the medical examination of predraft youth and draftees.

In their reports and speeches the conference participants determined ways of introducing new standards of quality into work on organizing predraft training of young people and ensuring fitting recruits for the Armed Forces, ready to capably carry out their military duty to defend the socialist fatherland.

The conference participants were addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov.

Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee N.I. Shlyaga and V.S. Navoznov and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee Secretary S.N. Yepifantsev participated in the conference's work.

Further Reportage on Air Defense Forces Day Events

Air Defense Unit Described

PM1104092989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 89 p 1

[Report by "our special correspondent" R. Guseynov: "Special Establishment; Our Correspondent Has Visited One of the Air Defense Units Protecting the Moscow Sky"]

[Excerpts] Two "choppers" with unusual passengers took off from the military airfield in the close environs of Moscow. The military aircraft's passengers were unusual—a large group of journalists from the central newspapers—and our destination was also unusual—two subunits of the Moscow Air Defense District where "no journalist had ever set foot," as one of the district leaders accompanying us said. Actually, there are many places where "no journalist has ever set foot." I must also recall another incident. As is well known, Soviet pilots have never landed aircraft on Red Square. But our unexpected guest Mathias Rust did this, quite gracefully and painlessly, bypassing several posts, including subunits of the Moscow Air Defense District. But we shall not be rancorous.

The trip was indeed unusual. We were shown everything we wanted to see and were also allowed to photograph almost everything. We were able to talk with many high-ranking officers and ordinary soldiers. [passage omitted]

The barracks were clean and bright. The airfield service battalion detail members who had just come off duty were snoring in harmony in their bunks. A bristly head slipped from the pillow and the soldier smiled in his sleep. What was he remembering: his mother's pelmeni [type of ravioli] or perhaps a letter from Natasha? The next day we would see the battalion in action. According to their set mission they had to overcome the obstacles of

a hypothetical enemy attacking missile installations. The order was issued and the obstacle zone instantly blazed with a seemingly impassable fire. Dressed in heavy protective suits, without letting their weapons drop, the figures doggedly crept to their objective.

We spent the next day in the antiaircraft missile regiment. The heavy armored door was slow to open. We went underground and advanced along a quite broad corridor. The holy of holies—the command center—is here. Everything was crammed with sophisticated computer equipment, produced in this country, incidentally. The duty officer ran a program and the bright spot of the practice target rushed from the X center, outside the USSR, it was to be assumed, to the projected target in Moscow. Where was this angel of death noiselessly advancing? Perhaps its target was next to the editorial officers where our comrades were preparing the next issue, perhaps next to the kindergarten where I had taken my son a few hours before? On the screen the target was encircled, the missile reached it, and the spot went out.

Military equipment is always striking to a nonmilitary man. Because of the perfection of its lines, the power of its technical specifications, and its killing power. One suggestible writer quite recently published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA articles of at least one page (!) in which he found truly Shakespearean hues to describe the lethal power of military weapons. Any weapons which can be used to kill cannot fail to generate an emotional response and all the military men with whom I have talked in the past few days spoke with understanding of measures to reduce the Army and eliminate intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. We also frankly discussed issues connected with a certain decline in the prestige of the military professions and the restructuring which is proceeding only slowly in the ranks of the Army.

During those days I met with and talked to Aviation Colonel General V.G. Tsarkov, commander of the Moscow Air Defense District.

"Everything you have seen in the past few days is ordinary work," the commander said. "No one made special preparations to greet the journalists. I shall not conceal the fact that we are worried by the public opinion which is taking shape around the Army. In the eyes of the man in the street it sometimes looks like an organism which only consumes without producing anything. Yet the main product which we produce is security for society. The Moscow Air Defense District covers a territory of the country on which tens of millions of people live and on which hundreds of sites of state importance, including the capital—Moscow—are situated. We are aware of the responsibility which rests with us. Of course, the Rust story touched us painfully. Although I had only taken on the district 2 weeks before the ill-fated landing of the 'Cessna' sports aircraft in Red Square, I also had to report to the Politburo. I received a very strict reprimand. As a Communist and commander I believe that was fair. Today this instance has been given a principled and strict assessment. I ask you to remember that and to remember that in the Army today there are many problems people should know about." [passage omitted]

Documentary on Moscow Forces

LD0804132389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 8 April carries a 50-minute documentary entitled "Responsible for Moscow's Skies," produced in 1987 by the USSR Defense Ministry film studios.

The film opens with street interviews with Moscow residents on how they think their airspace is defended. There then follows a sequence of shots of radar facilities, aircraft, and missiles.

Next, the program proceeds to show the history of the Soviet Air Defense Forces, from their formation by a decree of Lenin through the Spanish Civil War, the Mongolian campaign against the Japanese in 1938, and World War II 1941-45. A number of veterans were interviewed on their recollections of those days.

After World War II, the narrator says, the United States and NATO ringed the Soviet Union with its forces and engaged in aggressive wars in many parts of the world. He goes on to say that the Pentagon is not going back on its plans and that the U.S. and NATO arsenals are directed primarily against the USSR. He says that Moscow remains the prime target of the "military maniacs."

Col A.F. Yashin, named by caption but not otherwise identified, says that the Air Defense units of Moscow district have an illustrious history. This includes three cosmonauts who came from the Air Defense Forces.

As the narrator explains that Soviet Air Defense Forces have mastered several generations of military aircraft, shots are provided of a variety of aircraft taking off and landing, the scrambling of an Air Defense unit, and Air Defense troops manning radar screens and ground-to-air missile units.

The narrator goes on to talk about training, as the video shows scenes from the Moscow Air Defense Training Center, with men studying display terminals in a classroom.

Next, a sequence is shown in which an intruder aircraft is detected by radar and an operation is undertaken to destroy it. An aircraft takes off to intercept, and decisions are passed on from the unit commanders.

The program concludes with some remarks from Col B.M. Lyukov, named by caption but otherwise not identified, who notes that his units are part of the Moscow Air Defense District and that his men are working day and night to make Moscow's defense impenetrable to the enemy.

CPSU's Yakovlev Given Marine Veteran's Medal

PM0404163789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel R. Makushin report: "Comrades in Arms Met"]

[Text] Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Yakovlev, platoon commander in the 6th Special Marine Brigade, was seriously injured in a battle on the Volkhov Front. He was evacuated to the rear and did not return to the front. The former marine still bears the traces of five bullet wounds from those days and also combat orders. And he still remembers his front-line comrades, living and dead, those with whom he shared bread and bullets, the bitterness of failures and the joy of victories.

On 29 March A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received a visit from his comrades in arms. On behalf of the Twice Red Banner V.A. Sychev, Baltic Fleet Veterans Council Vice Admiral, retired, and Justice Colonel N.R. Otrokhov, retired, presented their combat comrade with a fleet veteran's medal.

Cordial talks took place. The veterans had things to remember.